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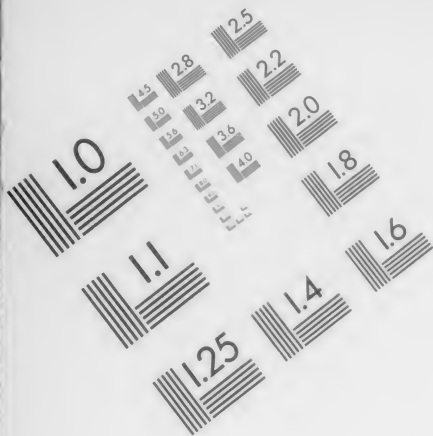
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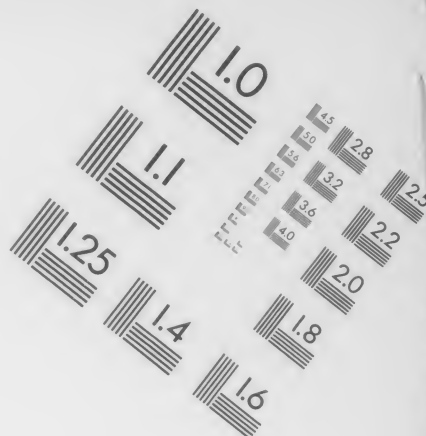
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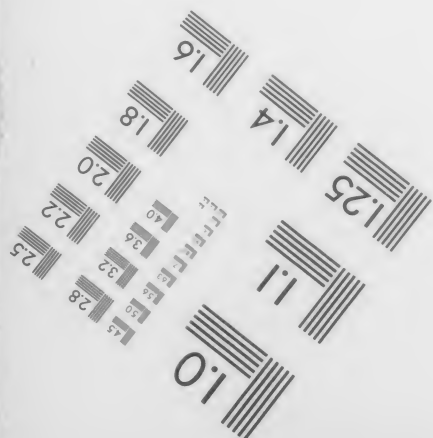
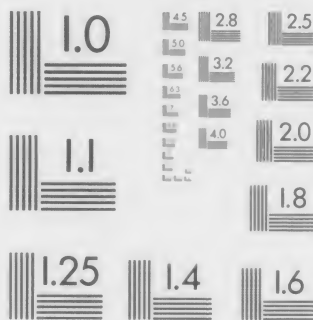
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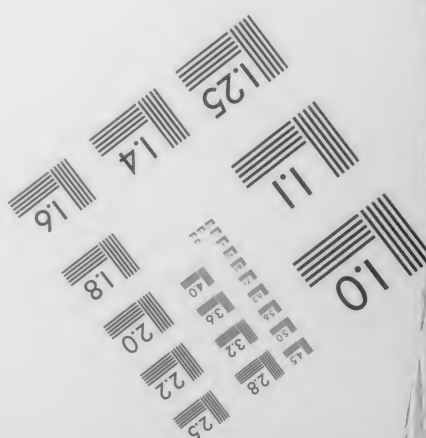
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A
GUIDE
TO
THE READING OF THE
GREEK TRAGEDIANS;

BEING
A SERIES OF ARTICLES
ON
THE GREEK DRAMA, GREEK METRES,
AND
CANONS OF CRITICISM.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY
THE REV. J. R. MAJOR, D.D.
HEAD MASTER OF KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL, LONDON.

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this Manual it has been the object of the Editor to bring together, from various sources, information both interesting and useful to the Student on the several heads of the Greek Drama, Greek Metres, and Canons of Criticism. On the first head, extracts have been given from Bentley's Dissertation on Phalaris, as the chief authority for the age of Thespis and the origin of Tragedy and Comedy; care having been taken to divest them of such controversial allusions and digressions as might embarrass the reader in his investigations. These extracts are succeeded by others from various authors, on the Progress of the Drama, the History and comparative Merits of the principal Tragic and Comic Writers, and the Construction of the Greek Theatre. On Greek Metres, the Editor had prefixed an Introduction to his edition of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, which he had been frequently requested to publish in a separate form, for the purpose of reference in the reading of Greek Plays generally. With that view it is here reprinted with considerable additions; and to it have

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

been subjoined sundry articles from the Classical Journal on the same subject. The Canons of Criticism have been collected from the notes of Porson, Blomfield, Monk, and Elmsley, and from Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*.

In this second edition the Work has undergone a careful revision; and many important additions and improvements have been made.

A GUIDE

TO THE

READING OF THE GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

FROM BENTLEY'S DISSERTATION ON PHALARIS.

ORIGINAL METRE OF TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

It was a good while after the invention of tragedy and comedy before the iambic measure was used in them. Aristotle assures us of this, as far as it concerns tragedy: "the measure," says he, "in tragedy, was changed from tetrametres to iambics; for at first they used tetrametres, because the trochaic foot was more proper for dancing." And the same reason will hold for comedy too: because that, as well as tragedy, was at first "nothing but a song performed by a chorus dancing to a pipe." It stands to reason, therefore, that there also the tetrametre was used, rather than the iambic; which, as the same Aristotle observes, was fit for business rather than dancing, and for discourse rather than singing.

NATURE OF TRAGEDY AND COMEDY AT THEIR
COMMENCEMENT.

Both tragedy and comedy, in their first beginnings at Athens, were nothing but "extemporal" diversions, not just and regular poems: they were neither published, nor preserved, nor written; but, like the entertainments of our merry-andrews on the stages of mountebanks, were bestowed only on the present

Guide.

assembly, and so forgotten. Aristotle declares this expressly: "both tragedy and comedy," says he, "were at first made *ex tempore*:" and another very good writer, Maximus Tyrius, tells us—"that the ancient plays at Athens were nothing but choruses of boys and men, the husbandmen in their several parishes, after the labours of seed-time and harvest, singing *extemporal* songs." Donatus, or whoever is the author of that discourse about comedy, says,— "Thespis was the first that wrote his plays, and by that means made them public."

EPICARMUS THE INVENTOR OF WRITTEN COMEDY:
NOT SUSARION.

This, perhaps, may be the true reason why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of comedy make no mention of Susarion and his contemporaries, but ascribe the invention of it to Epicharmus. For, as it seems, nothing of that kind was written and transmitted to posterity before the time of that Sicilian. Theocritus therefore (Epigr. 17.) is express and positive that Epicharmus *invented* comedy:

Ἄτε φωνὰ Δώριος, χώνηρ ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν
Εὐρὼν Ἐπίχαρμος.

"Comedy," says Themistius, "*began* of old in Sicily; for Epicharmus and Phormus were of that country." "Epicharmus," says Suidas*, "together with Phormus, *invented* comedy at Syracuse." And Solinus, in his description of Sicily,— "Here," says he, "was comedy *first invented*." "Some are of opinion," says Diomedes, "that Epicharmus *first* made comedy." Aristotle makes some small intimation of Susarion's pretences; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of Epicharmus. I will give the reader his own words:—"The pretenders," says he, "to the invention of comedy, are the Megarenses, both those here, (he means the Megarenses near Attica,) and those in Sicily: for Epicharmus was of that place, who is much older than Chionides and Magnes." When he says the Megarenses *that are here*, he may hint, perhaps, at Susarion, who was born at that Megara; but he plainly signifies that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the author of some "extempore" farces, that may be called the first rudiments of comedy; and this is all that with justice can be granted him.

* For an account of this Lexicographer, the period assigned to whom is A. D. 975, see Anthon's ed. of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

WRITTEN COMEDY MORE RECENT THAN TRAGEDY.

With this opinion all those fall in who assert that comedy is more recent than tragedy: for the same persons suppose Thespis to be the inventor of tragedy, who lived about Olymp. lxi.* Horace (A. P. 281.), after he had given an account of the rise of tragedy and satyr—*After* these, says he, came the old comedy: "*successit vetus his comædia*." "*His*," says the ancient Scholiast, "*scil. satyræ et tragædia*." And Donatus is very positive—That tragedy is senior to comedy, both in the subject of it, and the time of its invention.

AGE OF EPICARMUS.

It is well known, that Epicharmus lived with Hiero of Syracuse: and the author of the Arundel Marble places them both at Olymp. lxxvii. 1. when Chares was archon at Athens. Epicharmus lived to a very great age, to 90 years, as Laertius says, or to 97, as Lucian.

ACCOUNT OF PHORMUS. HIS TRUE NAME, PHORMIS.

With respect to Phormus, who is joined with Epicharmus, his name is written in different ways. Athenæus and Suidas call him Phormus; but Aristotle, Phormis. In Themistius it is written Amorphus, which is an evident depravation. Some learned men would write it Phormus, too, in Aristotle: but if that be true which Suidas relates of him, that he was an acquaintance of Gelo the Syracusian, and tutor to his children, the true reading must be Phormis: for he is the same Phormis that, as Pausanias tells us, came to great honour in the service of Gelo, and of Hiero after him.

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

On the whole matter, I suppose that it will be allowed—that the authorities for Epicharmus are more and greater than

* In order to convert the date in Olympiads to the year n. c., observe that the first Olympiad took place 776 n. c. Multiply therefore the Olympiad by 4, to the product add the current year or years of the Olympiad, deducting five years (because the current Olympiad is four years, and the current year is *one*); subtract the result from 776, and the remainder will be the year n. c. required. Thus, the age of Thespis being lxi. 1., 61×4 or $244 + 1 = 245$; and $776 - 245 = 531$ B. C.

those for Susarion; that, allowing Susarion to have contributed something towards the invention of comedy, yet his plays were extemporal, and never published in writing; and that, if they were published, it is more likely they were in tetrametres and other choral measures, fit for dances and songs, than in iambs.

OBJECTION FROM THE EXISTENCE OF SOME IAMBIC LINES
ASCRIBED TO SUSARION.

It is true there are five iambs extant that are fathered upon Susarion, and perhaps may really be his:

Ἀκούετε λεώς· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε,
Τίος Φιλίνου, Μεγαρόθεν, Τριποδίσκιος·
Κακὸν γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὃ δημόται,
Οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἀνὲν κακοῦ.
Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι, κακόν.

Diomedes Scholasticus, in his commentary on Dionysius Thrax, introduces these verses of Susarion with these words:—"One Susarion was the beginner of comedy in verse, whose plays were all lost in oblivion; but there are two or three iambs of a *play* of his still remembered." Here is an express testimony, that Susarion used iambs in his plays: though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable, that, in the first infancy of comedy, the iambic was not used there; as we are certain from Aristotle that it was not in tragedy.

OBJECTION ANSWERED. Παράβασις.

But I have one or two exceptions against Diomedes's evidence. First, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five iambs are spoken in the person of Susarion; which will go a great way towards a proof that they are no part of a *play*. For, when the poet in his own name would speak to the spectators, he makes use of the chorus to that purpose, and it is called a *Παράβασις*; of which sort there are several now extant in Aristophanes. But the measures that the chorus uses at that time are never iambs, but always anapaests or tetrametres. And I believe there is not one instance, that the chorus speaks at all to the pit in iambs; to the actor it sometimes does.

And, lastly, if these verses of Susarion's had been known to be borrowed from a *play*, it could not have been such a secret to Aristotle. For it is plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any play of Susarion's: if he had, he would never attribute the invention of comedy to the Sicilians, so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable, if we remember what an universal scholar that philosopher was; and that he had particularly applied himself to know the history of the stage, having written a treatise of the *Διδασκαλία*, an account of the names, and the times, and the authors of all the plays that ever were acted. If the verses, therefore, are truly Susarion's, it is probable they were made on some other occasion, and not for the stage.

PLAYS CARRIED ABOUT AT FIRST IN CARTS.

The Chronicon Marmoreum, which is now at Oxford, and makes part of the glory of that noble university, has a passage in a worn and broken condition, which I would thus fill up: Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν ἀπήναις κωμῳδίαι ἐφορέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰκαριέων εὐρόντος Σουσαρίωνος, καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον, ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχος, καὶ οἶνου ἀμφορεὺς, that is, "Since comedies were carried in carts by the Icarians, Susarion being the inventor; and the prize was first proposed, a basket of figs and a small vessel of wine." That in the beginning the plays were carried about in carts, we have a witness beyond exception: Hor. A. P. 275.

Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur, et plaustri vexisse poemata Thespi.

And so the old Scholiast upon the place—"Thespi primus tragœdias invenit, ad quas recitandas circa vicos *plaustro* quoque vehabatur ante inventionem scenæ."

PRIZES FOR TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

As for the prizes for the victory, I think I can fairly account for them out of a passage in Plutarch: "Anciently," says he, "the feast of Bacchus was transacted country-like and merrily: first there was carried (*ἀμφορεὺς οἶνου*) a vessel of wine and a branch of a vine; then followed one that led a goat (*τράγον*) after him; another carried (*ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχον*) a basket of figs; and last of all came the phallus (*ὁ φαλλός*)."

RISE OF TRAGEDY AND COMEDY FROM THE FEASTS
OF BACCHUS.

Now as both tragedy and comedy had their first rise from this feast of Bacchus; the one being invented by those that sang the dithyramb, and the latter by those that sang the phallic; so the prizes and rewards for those that performed best were ready upon the spot, and made part of the procession—the vessel of wine and the basket of figs were the premium for comedy, and the goat for tragedy: both the one and the other are expressed in the verses of Dioscorides, which will be quoted afterwards. Can we then suppose that Susarion made regular and finished comedies, with the solemnity of a stage, when we see that the prize he contended for was the cheap purchase of a cask of wine, and a parcel of dried figs? These sorry prizes were laid aside when comedy grew up to maturity; and to carry the day from the rival poets was an honour not much inferior to a victory at Olympia.

TITLE OF THESPISTO TO THE INVENTION OF TRAGEDY: TESTIMONIES OF THE ARUNDEL MARBLE*, DIOSCORIDES, HORACE, PLUTARCH, CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA, ATHENÆUS, SUIDAS, DONATUS. TRAGEDIES AND COMEDIES ACTED AT THE TRINA DIONYSIA. DANCING MUCH USED BY THE ANCIENT POETS IN THEIR CHORUSES.

The famous chronological inscription in the Arundel Marble, which was made Olymp. cxxix. in the time of Ptolemy Phila-

* "Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who lived in the time of James and Charles the First, devoted a large portion of his fortune to the collection of monuments, illustrative of the arts and of the history of Greece and Rome. He employed men of learning to travel at his expense in quest of such treasures; among others, Mr. William Petty, who explored, sometimes at the risk of his life, the ruins of Greece, the Archipelago, and the shores of Asia Minor; and succeeded in procuring above 200 relics of antiquity. Among them were those of which we are about to speak, and which, in honour of their noble collector, have been called the Arundelian Marbles. They arrived in England in the year 1627, with the

rest of the collection. The inscriptions were inserted in the wall of the garden at the back of Arundel House, in the Strand, and were examined, soon after they had been placed there, by Selden and two other scholars, at the recommendation of Sir Robert Cotton. Those learned men used their utmost endeavours in cleaning and deciphering these monuments, and succeeded, with great labour and difficulty, in deciphering 29 of the Greek, and 10 of the Latin inscriptions, those which Selden judged to be of the greatest importance; and in the following year he published them, in a thin folio volume, under the title of *Marmora Arundelliana*. The noble family of Arundel was compelled to abandon its mansion,

delphus, above 260 years before Christ, declares that Thespis was the first that gave being to tragedy. Besides him, the epigrammatist Dioscorides gives the invention of it to Thespis:

Θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο· τὰδ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἀν' ὕλαν
ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ, καὶ κόμους τούσδε τελειωτέρους
ΛΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ ἐξύψωσε, νεοσμίλευτα χαράξας
Γράμματα, χειμάρρῳ δ' οἶα καταρδόμενα·
Καὶ τὰ κατὰ σκηνὴν μετεκαίνισεν· ὃ στόμα πάντων
Δεξιὸν ἀρχαίων, ἥσθ' αἱ τις ἡμιθέων:

ἐξύψωσε, he raised and exalted the style of tragedy by νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα, his new-made and new-carved words, which is the very thing that Aristophanes ascribes to him:

Ἄλλ' ὃ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά:

and the writer of his life:—Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἀδρὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ὀνοματοποιίας καὶ ἐπιθέτους χρώμενος. But our epigrammatist, though he gives Æschylus the honour of improving tragedy, is as positive that εὔρεμα, the invention of it, belongs to Thespis;

during the civil wars, to the Commonwealth; and the parliament, who put it under sequestration, suffered the collection of marbles deposited in its garden to be plundered and defaced in the most shameless manner; and it is supposed that not more than half of the original number escaped dispersion or destruction in that disastrous period. A better fate awaited that portion of these reliques which was preserved; for it was presented by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, grandson of the collector, to the University of Oxford. Humphrey Prideaux, afterwards Dean of Norwich, a man of profound and various learning, undertook the publication of the whole collection, and brought out his work in 1676. They were again reprinted in 1732, under the care of Maittaire; and, subsequently, in a more exact and splendid manner, by the learned Dr. Chandler, in 1763, nearly a century after the original publication. Some of these inscriptions record treaties and public contracts; others are memorials of the gratitude of the state to patriotic individuals; but by far the greatest number are sepulchral, and entirely of a private nature. One, however, has deservedly attracted more notice than the rest; it is commonly known

by the name of the Parian Chronicle; because it is, in fact, a chronological table of events, and appears to have been made in the Island of Paros. This stone was, in the time of Selden, two feet seven inches in height, and six feet six inches in breadth; containing ninety-three lines, arranged in two columns. It originally contained a chronological account of the principal events in Grecian, and particularly Athenian history, during a period of 1318 years, from the reign of Cærops to the archonship of Diognotus, B. C. 264; but it has suffered considerable injury, much of it having been effaced, so that it now terminates with the archonship of Diotimus, B. C. 354, about ninety years earlier than the period to which it originally extended. Had not Selden most fortunately transcribed it with peculiar care, a great portion of it would have been irrecoverably lost; for no less than thirty-one out of seventy-nine epochs, legible upon it, in his time, have been knocked off; for the purpose, it is said, of repairing a fireplace. The epochs are all dated retrospectively from the archonship of Diognotus at Athens, 264 years B. C., and briefly record the most important events, in the order in which they took place.—*Encycl. Metrop.*

which will further appear from another epigram, by the same hand, made on Thespis himself:

Θέσπιν ὅδε, Τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος αἰοδὴν,
 Κωμῆταις νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,
 Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορόν, ᾧ τράγος ἄθλον,
 Χ' ὀπτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος, ὕθλος ἔτι:

*Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum; cui Hircus,
 Et cui Attica ficum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est.*

By the three choruses of Bacchus Dioscorides means the Trina Dionysia, the three festivals of Bacchus; the Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Λίμναις, the Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστν, and the Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς: at which times, that answer to March, April, and January, both tragedies and comedies were acted. Afterwards, indeed, they added these diversions to the Παναθήναια, which fell out in the month of August; but, because this last was an innovation after Thespis's time, the poet here takes no notice of it. But, to dismiss this; the substance of the epigram imports — That Thespis was the *first* contriver of tragedy, which was then a *new* entertainment. After Dioscorides, we have Horace's testimony in Thespis's favour, in *Arte Poet.* 275.

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
 Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
 Qui canerent agerentque peruncti facibus ora.

And I think this poet's opinion is not only well explained, but confirmed too, by the old Scholiast, who tells us — "Thespis was the *first inventor* of tragedy." To all these we may add Plutarch, whose expression implies something further — "That Thespis gave the rise and beginning to the very rudiments of tragedy;" and Clemens of Alexandria, who makes Thespis the "contriver of tragedy, as Susarion was of comedy." And, without doubt, Athenæus was of the same judgment, when he said, "Both comedy and tragedy were found out at Iearius, a place in Attica;" for our Thespis was born there.

In another place Athenæus says — "The ancient poets Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinus (the true reading I take to be Καρκίνος, an ancient tragic poet, burlesqued once or twice by Aristophanes for this very *dancing* humour), and Phrynichus were called Ὀρχηστικοί, *dancers*, because they not only used dancing so much in the choruses of their plays, but they were common dancing-masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn." Now, if we compare this with what Aristotle says, — That tragedy in its infancy was ὀρχηστικωτέρα, *more taken up with dances*, than afterwards; it will be plain, that Athenæus knew no ancients tragedian than Thespis; for, if he had, it had been to his purpose

to name him. Again, Suidas acquaints us, — That Phrynichus was scholar to Thespis, who *first* introduced tragedy; and Dionatus passes his word — That, if we search into antiquity, we shall find that Thespis was the *first* that invented it. It is incredible, therefore, that the belief of his first inventing tragedy should so universally obtain, as we have shown it did, if any tragedies of an older author had been extant in the world.

CLAIMS OF EPIGENES REFUTED.

The pretences that are made *against* Thespis, are for one Epigenes, a Sicyonian. This is the only person, mentioned by name, that can contest the matter with Thespis. And who is there that appears in behalf of this Epigenes? But one single witness, and he, too, does but tell us a hearsay, which himself seems not to believe. "Thespis," says Suidas, "is reckoned the sixteenth tragic poet after Epigenes, a Sicyonian; but some say, Thespis was the second after him; and others, the very first of all. And again, where he explains the proverb, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσσον: it was occasioned, he says, by a tragedy of Epigenes, a Sicyonian; but he adds that others give a different and better account of it. Now, if this is all that is said for Epigenes's plea, nay, if it be all that is said of him upon any account (for I think nobody mentions him besides Suidas), I suppose this ill-supported pretence to tragedy will soon be overruled. It is true, there are two very great men, Lilius Gyraldus and Gerard Vossius, besides others, who affirm that this same Epigenes is cited, and some of his tragedies named, by Athenæus. But I affirm that the Epigenes in Athenæus was a comic poet, and many generations younger than his pretended namesake the tragedian. Suidas himself is my voucher. "Epigenes," says he, "a comic poet, some of his plays are Ἡραίνη, and Μνημάτιοι, and Βακχεΐα, as Athenæus says in his *Deipnosophists*." Correct Ἡραίνη for Ἡραΐνη, and Βακχεΐα for Βακχέια.

THESPI'S PUBLISHED NOTHING IN WRITING.

Nay, I will go a step further, and freely own my opinion — That even Thespis himself published nothing in writing: yet the Arundel Marble mentions the Ἀλεξιστὴς of Thespis, and Julius Pollux his Πενθεύς, and Suidas four or five more; and Plutarch, with Clemens Alexandrinus, produces some of his verses. No question but these are strong prejudices against my new assertion, or rather suspicion: but the sagacious reader will better judge of it, when he has seen the reasons I go on.

HERACLIDES PUT OUT TRAGEDIES IN THESPI'S NAME.

This I lay down as the foundation of what I shall say on this subject, — That the famous Heraclides of Pontus set out his own tragedies in Thespis's name. Aristoxenus the musician says (they are the words of Diogenes Laert.) — "That Heraclides made tragedies, and put the name of Thespis to them." This Heraclides was a scholar of Aristotle; and so was Aristoxenus too, and even a greater man than the other: so that I conceive one may build on this piece of history, as a thing undeniable.

Now before the date of this forgery of Heraclides, we have no mention at all of any of Thespis's remains. Aristotle, in his Poetry, speaks of the origin, and progress, and perfection of tragedy; he reads a lecture of criticism on the fables of the first writers: yet he has not one syllable about any piece of Thespis's: this will seem no small indication that nothing of his was preserved: but there is a passage in Plato that more manifestly implies it. "Tragedy," says he, "is an ancient thing, and did not commence, as people think, from Thespis nor from Phrynichus." Now, from hence I infer, if several persons in Plato's time believed tragedy was invented by Phrynichus, they must never have seen nor heard of any tragedies of Thespis. For, if they had, there could have been no controversy, which of the two was the inventor; for the one was a whole generation younger than the other. But Thespis's tragedies being lost, and Phrynichus's being the ancientest that were preserved, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first author. It is true, indeed, that, after the time of Heraclides, we have a few fragments of Thespis's quoted, and the names of some of his plays; but I will now show that every one of those passages are cited from Heraclides's counterfeit tragedies, and not the works of the true Thespis.

NO PLAY OF THESPI'S WITH THE TITLE OF ALCESTIS.

As for the author of the Arundel Marble, who was but a little younger than Heraclides and Aristoxenus, and might possibly know them both, he is commonly indeed supposed to mention Thespis's *Ἀλκηστις*. But besides the uncertainty of the word, which is now wholly effaced in the marble, the very inscription itself evinces that it ought not to be read *ΑΑΚΗΣΤΙΝ*: for the author of it never sets down the name of any *play*; not when he gives the date of Æschylus's first victory; not when he speaks of Sophocles's; not where he mentions Euripides's; nor

upon any other occasion. And it is utterly improbable that he would do it in one single place, and omit it in so many others that equally deserved it. Add to all this the express testimony of Suidas, — That Phrynichus was the first that made women the subject of tragedy; his master Thespis having introduced nothing but men. There could be, therefore, no play of Thespis's with the title of *Alcestis*.

SPURIOUS PASSAGE IN CLEM. ALEXANDRINUS ASCRIBED TO THESPI'S.

I shall now consider the passage in Clemens Alexandrinus: — "Thespis, the tragic poet (says that excellent author), writes thus: —

Ἴδε σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΞΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,
Ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν.
Ἴδε σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ τυρὸν μίξας
Ἐρυθρῷ μέλιτι, κατὰ τὸν σὸν, Πὰν
Δίκερως, τίθεται βωμῶν ἰγίων.
Ἴδε σοι Βρομίου αἶθοπα ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝ . . . Λεῖβω."

This supposed fragment of Thespis, as Clemens himself explains it, and as I have further proved out of Porphyry, relates to those four artificial words—*Κναξζβι*, *Χθύπτης*, *Φλεγμῶ*, *Δρόψ*, which comprehend exactly the whole twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet. Now I say, — If these twenty-four letters were not all invented in Thespis's time, this cannot be a genuine fragment of his.

EARLY GREEK ALPHABET.

We must know then, that it was a long time after the use of Greek writing, nay of writing books too, before the Greek alphabet was perfected, as it now is, and has been for 2000 years. It is true, there were then the very same sounds in pronunciation (for the language was not altered), but they did not express them the same way in writing. E served in those days for both E and H; as one English E serves now for two distinct sounds in *THEM* and *THESE*. So O stood for both O and Ω: and the sound of Z was expressed by ΔΣ, of Ξ by ΚΣ, of Ψ by ΠΣ: and the three aspirates were written thus, TH, PH, KH: which were afterwards Θ, Φ, Χ. At that time we must imagine the first verse of Homer to have been written thus —

MENIN AEIΔE THEA HEAEIAΔEO AKHIAEΩΣ.

And the same manner of writing was in Thespis's time; because the alphabet was not completed till after his death. For it is universally agreed, that either Simonides, or Epicharmus, or both, invented some of the letters. And Epicharmus could not be above twenty-seven years old, and very probably was much younger, at Olymp. lxi., which is the latest period of Thespis: and Simonides at the same time was but sixteen. This passage therefore ascribed to Thespis is certainly a cheat; and in all probability it is taken from one of the spurious plays that Heraclides fathered upon him.

In the next place, I will show that all the other passages quoted from Thespis are belonging to the same imposture.

BACCHUS AND THE SATYRS THE SUBJECT OF EARLY PLAYS.
SERIOUS TRAGEDY INTRODUCED BY PHRYNICHUS AND
ÆSCHYLUS.

Zenobius informs us — "That at first the choruses used to sing a dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus: but in time the poets left that off, and made the giants and centaurs the subjects of their plays. Upon which the spectators mocked them, and said, — That was nothing to Bacchus. The poets therefore sometimes introduced the Satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the god of the festival." To the same purpose we are told by Suidas — "That at first the subject of all the plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of Satyrs; upon which account those plays were called *Σατυρικά*: but afterwards, as tragedies came into fashion, the poets went off to fables and histories, which gave occasion to that saying — This is nothing to Bacchus." And he adds — "That Chamæleon says the same thing in his book about Thespis." This Chamæleon was a very learned man, and a scholar of Aristotle's. And we may gather from the very name of this treatise of his, that Thespis was some way concerned in this alteration of tragedy; either he was the last man that used all satyrical plays, or the last man that left them off. But whether of the two it was, we could not determine, unless Plutarch had helped us out in it. "When Phrynichus and Æschylus," says he, "turned the subject of tragedy to fables and doleful stories, the people said, — What is this to Bacchus?" For it is evident, from this passage of Plutarch compared with the others before, that the true Thespis's plays were all satyrical (that is, the plot of them was the story of Bacchus, the chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the argument was merry); and that Phrynichus and Æschylus were the first introducers of the new and doleful tragedy. Even

after the time of Thespis, the serious tragedy came on so slowly, that of fifty plays of Pratinas, who was in the next generation after Thespis, thirty-two are said to have been satyrical.

HENCE THE FRAGMENTS GENERALLY ASCRIBED TO THESPIAS
ARE INFERRED TO BE SPURIOUS.

Let us apply now this observation to the fragments ascribed to Thespis; one of which is thus quoted by Plutarch:

Ὅρᾳς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,
Οὐ ψεῦδος οὐδὲ κόμπου, οὐ μωρὸν γέλωτ'
Ἀσκῶν τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μῦθος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

"What differs this," says Plutarch, "from that saying of Plato, That the Deity was situated remote from all pleasure and pain?" Why, truly, it differs not at all; and I think there needs no other proof that it could not belong to a satyrical ludicrous play, such as all Thespis's were. For surely this is not the language of Bacchus and his Satyrs; nay, I might say, it is too high and philosophical a strain even for Thespis himself. But suppose the author could have reached so elevated a thought; yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous god, or his wanton attendants. Even Æschylus, the grave reformer of the stage, would rarely or never bring in his heroes talking sentences and philosophy, believing that to be against the genius and constitution of tragedy; much less then would Thespis have done so, whose tragedies were nothing but droll. It is incredible, therefore, that this fragment should be genuine: and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded to us by Plutarch, though he was not aware of it. For the thought, as he has shown us, was Plato's; and to whom then should the fragment belong, but to Heraclides, the counterfeit Thespis, who was at first a scholar of Plato's, and might borrow the notion from his old master?

Another verse is quoted by Julius Pollux out of Thespis's Pentheus:

Ἐργῷ νόμιξε νευρίδας ἔχειν ἐπεινδύτην.

Where for *νευρίδας ἔχειν*, we may correct it *νεβρίδ' ἔχειν*. Now the very titles of this play *Πενθεύς*, and of others mentioned by Suidas — *Ἀθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας*, and *Ἱερεῖς*, and *Ἱέθιοι*, do sufficiently show, that they cannot be satyrical plays, and consequently not Thespis's, who made none but of that sort. The learned Casaubon, after he has taught us from

the ancients, that Thespis was the inventor of satyrical plays—"Yet among the plays (says he) that are ascribed to Thespis, there is not one that appears to have been satyrical. Πενθεύς indeed seems to promise the fairest to be so; but we have observed, that the old poets never brought the Satyrs into the story of Pentheus." The result of the whole is this—That there was nothing published by Thespis himself; and that Heraclides's forgeries imposed upon Clemens, and Plutarch, and Pollux, and others.

AGE OF THESPIΣ: FROM THE ARUNDEL MARBLE.

With respect to the age of Thespis, the witness that upon all accounts deserves to be first heard, is the author of the Arundel Marble; for he is the ancientest writer now extant, that speaks of his age: he is the most accurate in his whole performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the history of poetry and the stage; as appears from the numerous eras there, belonging to the several poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the original stone still among us; so that his numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine; and not liable, as written books are, to be altered and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of transcribers. The very year, indeed, in which Thespis invented tragedy cannot now be known from the Marble; for the numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach near to it. For we are sure it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following epochs; because the whole inscription proceeds in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding epoch is,—Cyrus's victory over Cræsus, and the taking of Sardes; which, as all the best chronologers, Scaliger, Lydiate, Petavius, &c., agree, was Olymp. lix. 1., or at lowest Olymp. lviii. 2. The following is—The beginning of Darius's reign, Olymp. lxx. 1. Tragedy therefore was invented by Thespis between the Olympiads lix. 1. and lxx. 1.

This account in the Marble establishes and is mutually established by the testimony of Suidas, who informs us—That Thespis made (the first) play at Olymp. lxi., which period falls in between the two epochs that go before and after Thespis.

DATE OF PHRYNICHUS CONFIRMS THAT OF THESPIΣ.—PLAYS OF PHRYNICHUS, THE TAKING OF MILETUS, AND THE PHŒNISSÆ: THE PERSÆ OF ÆSCHYLUS BORROWED FROM THE LATTER.

Suidas, to whom the whole learned world confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the age and works of so many authors, tells us Phrynichus was Thespis's scholar. Plato names them both together, as pretenders to the invention of tragedy; so that if we can but fix the scholar's age, we may gather from thence the age of the master. Now Phrynichus made a tragedy at Athens, which he intituled *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*, The taking of Miletus. "Callisthenes says (they are the words of Strabo), that Phrynichus the tragic poet was fined by the Athenians a thousand drachms, for making a tragedy called—The taking of Miletus by Darius." And Herodotus, an older author than he—"When Phrynichus (says he) exhibited his play,—The taking of Miletus, the whole theatre fell into tears, and fined the poet a thousand drachms, and made an order that nobody ever after should make a play of that subject." But the taking of Miletus, the whole story of which is related by Herodotus, was either at Olymp. lxx. or lxxi., as all chronologers are agreed. And the tragedy of Phrynichus being made upon that subject, we are sure that he must be alive after Olymp. lxx.

But there is another tragedy of his, called *Φοίνισσαι*, which will show him to have been still alive above twenty years after that Olympiad. It is cited by the Scholiast on Aristophanes; and Athenæus gives us an iambic out of it:

Ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' αἰδόντες μέλη.

But the writer of the argument of Æschylus's Persæ has the most particular account of it. "Glaucus (says he) in his book about the subjects of Æschylus's plays, says, his Persæ were borrowed from the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus; the first verse of which Phœnissæ is this:—

Τῷδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων:

and an eunuch is introduced, bringing the news of Xerxes's defeat, and setting chairs for the ministers of state to sit down on." Now it is evident from this fragment, that Phrynichus was yet alive after Xerxes's expedition, i. e. Olymp. lxxv. 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a tragedy at Athens, and carried the victory; Themistocles being at the charge of all the furniture of the scene and chorus; who, in memory of it, set up this inscription:—ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ· ΦΡΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ·
ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. "Themistocles of the parish
of Phreari was at the charge; Phrynichus made the tragedy;
and Adimantus was archon." And I am apt to believe, that
Phœnissæ was this very play, which he made for Themistocles.
For what could be a more proper subject and compliment to
Themistocles, than Xerxes's defeat, which he had so great a
hand in? Now we are sure, from the name of the archon, that
this was done at Olymp. lxxv. 4.; and how long the poet sur-
vived this victory, there is nobody now to tell us.

DATE OF PHRYNICHUS'S FIRST VICTORY, OL. LXVII.—IN-
FERENCE: THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF TRAGEDY, BY
THESPI, WAS OLYMP. LXI.

Suidas's words—That Phrynichus got the prize at Olymp.
lxvii. will be allowed to be meant of his first victory. For so
we find in the Marble, that the first victories of Æschylus,
Sophocles, and Euripides, are the only ones recorded. And if
Phrynichus began at Olymp. lxvii., then the distance between
his first and last (that we know of) will be thirty-six years.
And it hits too with what the same Suidas has delivered about
Thespis—That he exhibited a play at Olymp. lxi. For if we
interpret this passage, like the other about Phrynichus, that it
was Thespis's first play, then the master will be older than the
scholar by about twenty-five years, which is a competent time.
And I humbly conceive, that all these hits and coincidences,
when added to the express authority of the Marble, which sets
Thespis after Olymp. lix., will bring it up to the highest proba-
bility, that Thespis first introduced tragedy about Olymp. lxi.

THE OPINION THAT THERE WERE TWO PHRYNICHUSES
EXAMINED.

It has been thought that there were two Phrynichuses, both
tragic poets. It is necessary therefore to examine this point,
or else our argument from the date of Phrynichus's Phœnissæ
will be very lame and precarious: for it may be pretended the
author of Phœnissæ was not that Phrynichus that was Thespis's
scholar. It is true there were two Phrynichuses that wrote for
the stage; the one a tragic, the other a comic poet; that is a
thing beyond question; but the point that I contend for is, that
there were not two Phrynichuses writers of tragedy.

ORIGIN OF THIS OPINION.

The pretence for asserting two tragic poets of that name is a
passage of Suidas; who, after he had named Φρύνιχος, &c.
"Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, or Minyras, or Cho-
rocles, the scholar of Thespis, and that his tragedies are nine,
Πλευρώνια, Αἰγύπτιοι," &c., subjoins, under a new head, Φρύνιχος,
&c. "Phrynichus, the son of Melanthas, an Athenian tra-
gedian; some of his plays are Ἀνδρομέδα, Ἡριγόνη, and Πυρρήλαι."
This latter place is taken word for word out of Aristophanes's
Scholiast, who adds, that the same man made the tragedy called
"The taking of Miletus."

GROUND UPON WHICH IT RESTS, SLIGHT.

Now it may seem from these two passages, that there were
two Phrynichuses tragic poets; for the one is called the son of
Melanthas, the other not: and the three plays ascribed to the
latter are quite different from the nine that were made by
the former. But to take off this pretence, I crave leave to
observe that the naming his father Melanthas is an argument
of small force; for we see the other has three fathers assigned
to him; so uncertain was the tradition about the name of his
father: some authors therefore might relate, that his father was
called Melanthas; and yet mean the very same Phrynichus,
that, according to others, was the son of Polyphradmon. And
then the second plea, that the plays attributed to the one are
wholly different from those of the other, is even weaker than
the former: for the whole dozen mentioned in Suidas might
belong to the same Phrynichus. He says, indeed, Phrynichus,
Polyphradmon's son, wrote nine plays; because the author he
here copies from knew of no more. But there might be more,
notwithstanding his not hearing of them; as we see there were
really two—The taking of Miletus and Phœnissæ, that are not
mentioned here by Suidas.

NO AUTHOR MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE TRAGEDIAN
OF THAT NAME.

Having shown now what very slight ground the tradition
about two tragedian Phrynichuses is built upon, I will give some
arguments on my side, which induce me to think there was but
one. And my first is, because all the authors, Herodotus,
Callisthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ælian, Libanus, Amm. Mar-
Guide.

cellinus, Joh. Tzetzes, who speak of the play called—The taking of Miletus, style the author of it barely, Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγικός, Phrynichus the tragedian, without adding ὁ Νεώτερος, the younger; as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to have done, if this person had not been the famous Phrynichus, that was Thespis's scholar. And so when he is quoted on other occasions, by Athenæus, Hephæstion, Isaac Tzetzes, &c. he is called in like manner Phrynichus the tragic poet, without the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

THAT THERE WAS BUT ONE APPEARS FROM THE SCHOL.
ON ARISTOPH. AND SUIDAS.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on Aristophanes, and Suidas, who are the sole authors produced to show there were two tragedians, do in other places plainly declare there was but one. "There were four Phrynichuses in all," says the Scholiast:—

1. Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, the tragic poet.
2. Phrynichus, the son of Choroelos, an actor of tragedies.
3. Phrynichus, the son of Eunomides, the comic poet.
4. Phrynichus, the Athenian general, who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a plot against the government.

What can be more evident than that, according to this catalogue, there was but one of this name a tragedian?

FREQUENT INCONSISTENCIES IN LEXICONS AND SCHOLIA.

But it is no wonder if in lexicons and scholia compiled out of several authors, there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place both the Scholiast and Suidas make this fourth Phrynichus, the general, to be the same with the third, the comic poet. On the contrary, Ælian makes him the same with the first; and he adds a particular circumstance—That in his tragedy *Πυρρίχαι*, he so pleased the theatre with the warlike songs and dances of his chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a general. Among the moderus some fall in with Ælian's story, and some with the other: but with all deference to their judgment, I am persuaded both of them are false.

PHRYNICHUS THE GENERAL A DISTINCT CHARACTER.

For Phrynichus the general was stabbed at Athens, Ol. xcii. 2. as Thucydides (B. viii.) relates: but a more exact account of

the circumstances of his death is to be met with in Lysias and Lyeurgus the orators. This being a matter of fact beyond all doubt and controversy, I affirm that the date of his death can neither agree with the tragic nor the comic poet's history; being too late for the one and too early for the other. It is too late for the tragedian, because he began to make plays, as we have seen above, at Olymp. lxvii., from which time till Olymp. xcii. 2. there are 102 years; and even from the date of his Phœnissæ, that were acted at Olymp. lxxv. 4., which is the last time we hear of him, there are sixty-six years to the death of Phrynichus the general. And then it is too early for the comedian, for we find him alive five years after, contending with his play called the Muses (quoted by Athenæus, Pollux, Suidas, &c.) against Aristophanes's Frogs, at Olymp. xciii. 3. when Callias was archon.

PHRYNICHUS THE ANCIENT TRAGEDIAN ALLUDED TO BY
ARISTOPHANES IN THE VESPÆ.

Again, I will show there was but one Phrynichus a tragedian: Aristophanes in his *Vespæ* says, that the old men at Athens used to sing the old songs of Phrynichus:

—— καὶ μιννρίζοντες μέλη
Ἀρχαιομελησιδωνοφρυνιχάρατα.

It is a conceited word of the poet's making; and *σιδωνο*, which is one member in the composition of it, relates to the Phœnissæ (i. e. the Sidonians), a play of Phrynichus's, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see the author of Phœnissæ (whom they suppose to be the latter Phrynichus) is meant by Aristophanes; but if I prove too, that Aristophanes in this very place meant the Phrynichus, Thespis's scholar, it will be evident that these two Phrynichuses (whom they falsely imagine) are really one and the same. Now that Aristophanes meant the scholar of Thespis will appear from the very words *μέλη ἀρχαῖα*, *ancient songs and tunes*. Ancient, because that Phrynichus was the second, or as some in Plato thought, the first author of tragedy. And "songs and tunes," because he was celebrated and famous by that very character.

THE ANCIENT PHRYNICHUS FAMOUS FOR HIS SONGS.

"Phrynichus (says the Scholiast on this place) had a mighty name for making of songs." But in another place he says the

same thing of Phrynichus the son of Polyphradmon; who, according to Suidas, was Thespi's scholar. "He was admired (says he) for the making of songs; they cry him up for the composing of tunes; and he was before Æschylus." And can it be doubted then any longer, but that the same person is meant? It is a problem of Aristotle's, *Διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον μᾶλλον ἦσαν μελοποιοί*; "Why did Phrynichus make more songs than any tragedian does now-a-days?" And he answers it—"Ἡ διὰ τὸ πολλαπλάσια εἶναι τότε τὰ μέλη τῶν μέτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις; "Was it (says he) because at that time the songs (sung by the chorus) in tragedies were many more than the verses (spoken by the actors?)" Does not Aristotle's very question imply, that there was but one Phrynichus a tragedian?

FURTHER ARGUMENT FROM ARISTOPHANES.

I will add one argument more for it; and that, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the controversy. For I will prove, that the very passage in Aristophanes, where the Scholiast, and Suidas from him, tells us of this (supposed second) Phrynichus, the son of Melanthias, concerns the one and true Phrynichus, the scholar of Thespi's. It has been already stated from Athenæus and Aristotle that the ancient poets, Thespi's, Pratinas, Carcinus, and Phrynichus, were called *ὀρχηστικοί*, *dancers*. This being premised, I shall now set down the words of the poet (Vesp. 1476.):

ὁ γὰρ γέρων, ὡς ἔπιδε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου,
ἤκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρὴς τῷ πράγματι,
ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται
τάρχαί' ἐκεῖν', οἷς Θέσπις ἡγωνίζετο
καὶ τοὺς τραγικοὺς φησὶν ἀποδείξειν κρόνου
τοὺς νῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον:

which are spoken by a servant concerning an old fellow his master, that was in a frolic of dancing. "All night long (says he) he dances those old dances that Thespi's used in his choruses: and he says he will dance here upon the stage by and by, and show the tragedians of these times to be a parcel of fools, he will out-dance them so much." And who can doubt that considers what I have quoted from Athenæus, but that Thespi's, ὁ ἀρχαῖος, *the old tragic poet* (who lived 114 years before the date of this play), ὁ ὀρχηστικός, *the common dancing-master* at Athens, is here meant by Aristophanes?

ALLUSIONS TO THE DANCING OF PHRYNICHUS.

But to go on with Aristophanes: we come afterwards to this passage:

πλήσσει Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ
(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)
Σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων:

for so I would read for *πτήσσει*: "Phrynichus strikes like a cock, throwing up his heels very lofty." This is spoken by the old fellow, while he is cutting his capers: and in one of his frisks he offers to *strike* the servant that stood by with his foot as it was aloft. Upon which the servant says, *τάχα βαλλήσεις*, "you will hit me by and by with your capering and kicking." *Πλήσσω* is the proper term for a cock, when he strikes as he is fighting; and *Πλήκτρον* is his *spur*, that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this — That in his dances he leaped up, and vaulted, like Phrynichus, who was celebrated for those performances, as it further appears from what follows a little after —

Καὶ, τὸ Φρυνίχειον,
Ἐκλακτισάτω τις ὅπως
Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος,
ᾠζωσιν οἱ θεαταί:

i.e. "And in Phrynichus's way, frisk and caper; so as the spectators seeing your legs aloft, may cry out with admiration." Now to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose, sufficiently, that the Phrynichus here spoken of by Aristophanes, was, as well as the Thespi's, famous for his dancing; and, consequently, by the authority of Athenæus quoted above, he must be ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρύνιχος, *the ancient Phrynichus*, ὀρχηστικός, *the master of dancing*. We have part of an epigram made by Phrynichus himself in commendation of his own dancing —

Σχήματα δ' ὀρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσσ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖματι νῦξ ὅλη.

Upon the whole matter then, there was but one tragedian Phrynichus, the scholar of Thespi's; and if so, we have proved already, from the dates of his plays, that his master Thespi's ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. lxi.

AUTHORITIES OF DIOG. LAERTIUS AND PLUTARCH IN FAVOUR OF AN EARLIER DATE FOR THESPI'S EXAMINED. THE LATTER INCONSISTENT WITH HIMSELF.

From two authorities, however, Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch, it has been inferred, that Thespis acted plays in Solon's time, who died at Olymp. lv. 1. Now the words of Laertius, which are all he says that any ways relate to this affair, are exactly these: "Solon (says he) hindered Thespis from acting of tragedies, believing those false representations to be of no use." But if Solon, when Thespis, as we may suppose, made application to him for his leave to act tragedies, would not suffer him to do it, is it not reasonable to infer, that Thespis acted none till after Solon's death? The words of Plutarch, it is true, are more clear and express, for this author relates particularly, "That Solon saw one of Thespis's plays, and then, disliking the way of it, forbade him to act any more;" and as Plutarch tells this story of Thespis, it must have happened a little before Pisistratus's tyranny. For he presently subjoins, that when Pisistratus had wounded himself, and pretending that he was set upon by enemies, desired to have a guard; "You do not act," says Solon to him, "the part of Ulysses well; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, but you to deceive your own countrymen." Laertius tells it a little plainer: that when Pisistratus had wounded himself, Solon said,—"*Ay, this comes of Thespis's acting and personating in his tragedies.*" Take both these passages together, and it must be allowed that, as far as Plutarch's credit goes, it appears that Thespis did act some of his plays before Olymp. liv. 4. But we have seen above, that the Arundel Marble and Suidas set the date of his first Essay about Olymp. lxi. And the age of Phrynichus his scholar strongly favours their side; for by their reckoning he began his plays about twenty-five years after his master, but by Plutarch's above fifty. And whose authority now shall we follow? Though there's odds enough against Plutarch, from the antiquity of the author of the Marble, who was above 300 years older than he, and from his particular diligence and exactness about the history of the stage, yet I'll make bold to add another reason or two why I cannot here follow him. For he himself tells me in another place — "That the first who brought *Μῦθους καὶ Πάθη*, the stories and the calamities of heroes upon the stage were Phrynichus and Æschylus:" so that before them all tragedy was satirical, and the subject of it was nothing else but Bacchus and his Satyrs. But if this affair about Thespis, and Solon, and Pisistratus, be true, then Thespis must have represented Ulysses and other heroes in his plays; for it is intimated that Thespis's

acting gave the hint to Pisistratus to wound himself, as Ulysses did. So that this latter passage of Plutarch is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this: somebody had invented and published this about Solon, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise law-giver: and Plutarch, who would never baulk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with chronology, thought it was a fault to omit it in his history of Solon's life.

TRAGEDY NOT OLDER THAN THESPI'S. PASSAGES FROM PLATO, LAERTIUS, AND ARISTOTLE EXAMINED.

So much for the age of Thespis: I shall now consider the opinion of those that make tragedy to be older than he. To maintain this assertion, nothing but two common and obvious passages of Plato and Laertius are produced; one of which (Plat. Min.) tells us — That tragedy did not commence with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old at Athens. The other (Laert. in Plat.) — That of old in tragedy the chorus alone performed the whole drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one actor. To this may be added a hint out of Aristotle, who, affirming that Æschylus invented the second actor, seems to imply that Thespis found out the first. Now for the two authorities, Laertius and Aristotle, these words of theirs do not prove that tragedy is older than Thespis. For Thespis might be the first introducer of one actor, and yet be the inventor too of that sort of tragedy that was performed by the chorus alone. At first his plays might be but rude and imperfect, some songs only and dances by the chorus, and the Hemichoria, i.e. the two halves of the chorus answering to each other: afterwards by long use and experience, perhaps of twenty, thirty, or forty years, he might improve upon his own invention, and introduce one actor, to discourse while the chorus took breath. Æschylus, we see, is generally reported as the inventor of the second actor; and yet several believed, that afterwards he invented too the third actor; for in the making of seventy-five plays, he had time enough to improve further upon his first model. With respect to Plato's affirmation, That tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis's time, I observe that Plato himself relates it as a paradox; and nobody that comes after him seconds him in it. He might be excused indeed by this distinction, that he meant *Ἀυτοσχέδιασμα*, the extemporal songs in praise of Bacchus, which were really older than Thespis, and gave the first rise to tragedy; were it not that he affirms — That Minos the king of Crete was introduced in those old tragedies before Thespis's

time. Which by no means may be allowed; for the old tragedy was all *Σατυρική* and *ὀρχηστική*, dancing and singing; and had no serious and doleful argument, as Minos must be, but all jollity and mirth.

A PASSAGE OF PLUTARCH MISUNDERSTOOD.

Julius Scaliger (de Poet. i. 5.) says, "Tragœdiam esse rem antiquam constat ex historia; ad Thesei namque sepulcrum certasse tragicos legimus." But were it true that tragedies had been acted at Theseus's tomb, (which is not so,) yet those tragedies would be so far from being the first, that they came sixty years after Thespis had exhibited his. Theseus died in banishment, being murdered and privately buried in the isle of Seyros: and about 800 years afterwards, the oracle enjoined the Athenians to take up his bones, and carry them to Athens, which was accordingly done by Cimon, Olymp. lxxvii. 4. The original of the error seems to have been a mistaken passage of Plutarch; who, after he has related how the bones of Theseus were brought in pomp to Athens by Cimon; "Ἐθεντο δὲ (says he) καὶ εἰς μνήμην ΑΤΤΟΥ καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην. Now it seems that some believed ΑΤΤΟΥ to be spoken of Theseus; and from thence they coined the story of tragedies being acted at his tomb. But it plainly relates to Cimon, who, with the rest of the generals, sat judge of the plays of Sophocles and Æschylus at that Olymp. lxxvii. 4. and gave the victory to the former. It appears then, first, that tragedies were not acted among the solemnities at Theseus's tomb; and secondly, that Theseus's tomb was not built till Olymp. lxxvii. 4. in Æschylus's and Sophocles's time, long after Thespis: so that were it true, that tragedies had been one of those funeral solemnities, yet it would be no argument for the antiquity assigned to tragedy.

PASSAGE IN HEROD. REFERRING TO THE ANTIQUITY OF TRAGEDY. HOW FAR THE SICYONIANS MAY BE CONSIDERED AS THE INVENTORS OF IT.

"The Sicyonians (says Herodotus, v. 67.) in every respect honoured the memory of Adrastus, and particularly they celebrated the story of his life with tragical choruses; not making Bacchus the subject of them, but Adrastus. But Clisthenes assigned the choruses to Bacchus, and the rest of the festival to Melanippus." This Clisthenes here spoken of was grandfather

to Clisthenes the Athenian, who was the main agent in driving out the sons of Pisistratus, at Olymp. lxvii. And since tragical choruses were used in Sicyon before that Clisthenes's time, it appears they must be long in use before the time of Thespis, who was one generation younger than Clisthenes himself. And agreeably to this, Themistius tells us — That the Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, and the Athenians the finishers. And when Aristotle says — That some of the Peloponnesians pretend to the invention of it; I understand him of these Sicyonians. The truth is, there is no more to be inferred from these passages, than that before the time of Thespis the first grounds and rudiments of tragedy were laid; there were choruses and extemporal songs, *αὐτοσχεδιαστικά*, but nothing *written* nor published as a dramatic poem. Nay, the very word tragedy was not then heard of at Sicyon, though Herodotus names *τραγικὸὺς χοροὺς*, the *tragical choruses*; which by and by shall be considered.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SATYRICAL PLAYS OF THE GREEKS, AND THE SATIRE OF THE ROMANS. THE CYCLOPS OF EURIPIDES A SATYRICAL PLAY.

The *satyrical* plays of the Greeks must not be confounded with the *satire* of the Romans. It is now above 100 years since Casaubon* wrote a whole book on purpose to show that they had no similitude nor affinity with one another. The Greek *satyrical* was only a jocose sort of tragedy, consisting of a chorus of Satyrs (from which it had its name), that talked lasciviously, befitting their character; but they never gave reproof to the vicious men of the times, their whole discourse being directed to the action and story of the play, which was Bacchus, or some ancient hero turned a little to ridicule. There is an entire play of this kind yet extant, the *Cyclops* of Euripides; but it no more concerns the vicious men at Athens in the poet's time, than his *Orestes* or *Hecuba* does. As for the abusive poem or *satire* of the Romans, it was an invention of their own: "Satira tota nostra est," says Quintilian: "Satire is entirely ours:" and if the Greeks had any thing like it, it was not the satyrical plays of the tragic poets, but the old comedy, and the *Silli* made by Xenophanes, Timon, and others. "Satire (says Diomedes) among the Romans, is *now* an abusive poem, made to reprove the vices of men." Here we see, it was a poem of the Romans, not of the Greeks; and it was *now*, that is, after Lucilius's time,

* Is. Casaub. de Satyrîcâ et Satirâ, Par. 1595.

that it became abusive; for the satire of Ennius and Pacuvius was quite of another nature.

ORIGIN OF THE PROVERB τὰ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἐξ ἀμάξης λέγειν,
γεφυρίζειν, πομπεύειν.

The expressions ἐξ ἀμάξης λέγειν, τὰ ἐξ ἀμαξῶν, which became proverbial for satire and jeering, were taken from other carts, and not Thespis's; for they generally used carts in their pomps and processions, not only in the festivals of Bacchus, but of other gods too. And particularly in the Eleusinian feast, the women were carried in the procession in carts, out of which they abused and jeered one another.

Aristophanes in Plutus:—

Μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην
Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης

Upon which passage, the old Scholiast and Suidas have this note:—That in those carts the women ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλαις, made abusive jests one upon another; and especially at a bridge over the river Cephissus, where the procession used to stop a little; from whence to abuse and jeer was called γεφυρίζειν. These Eleusinian carts are mentioned by Virgil, Geo. I. 163.

Tardaque Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra:

which most of the interpreters have been mistaken in: for the poet means not that Ceres invented them, but that they were used at her feasts. But besides the Eleusinian, there was the same custom in many other festival pomps, whence it was that Πομπεύειν and Πομπεία came at last to signify scoffing and railing. So Demosthenes (*de Coronâ*) takes the word; and his Scholiast says—That in those pomps they used to put on vizards, and riding in the carts, abuse the people; from whence, says he, comes the proverb, ἐξ ἀμάξης με ὕβρισε: which Demosthenes uses in the same oration. So that this passage of the orator is not meant of the carts of tragedians. It is true, Harpocration and Suidas understand it of the pomp in the feasts of Bacchus: but even there too, they were not the tragic, but the comic poets, who were so abusive; for they also had their carts to carry their plays in. “The comic poets (says the Scholiast on Aristophanes) rubbing their faces with lees of wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in carts, and sung their poems in the highways; from whence

came the proverb, Ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖν, to rail as impudently as out of a cart.”

ORIGIN OF THE NAME TRAGEDY: THE NAME NOT OLDER
THAN THESPIUS.

We are now come to the last point about tragedy, and that is, the origin of the name. The word tragedy was first coined from the *goat* that was the prize of it, which prize was first constituted in Thespis's time. So the Arundel Marble, in the epoch of Thespis—Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη ὁ τράγος. So Dioscorides, in his epigram upon Thespis, ὃ τράγος ἄθλον. And Horace speaking of the same person,

Carminē qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum. A. P. 220.

Being fully persuaded that this is the true etymology of the word, and that the guesses of some grammarians, *Τραγῳδία* quasi *τρηνγῳδία*, or *τραγῳδία* quasi *τραχεῖα ὥδη*, and other such like, are absurd and ridiculous, I affirm that the name of tragedy was no older than Thespis.

PASSAGE IN HERODOTUS CONSIDERED.

But I have not forgot what I myself lately quoted out of Herodotus, that the Sicyonians before Thespis's time honoured the memory of Adrastus, *τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι*, with tragical choruses. If this be so, here appears an ample testimony, that the word tragedy was older than Thespis. But must we not rather say—That Herodotus, who himself lived many years after Thespis, when tragedy was frequent, and improved to its highest pitch, made use of a *prolepsis*, when he called them *τραγικοὺς χορούς*; meaning such choruses as gave the first rise to that which in his time was called tragedy?

FURTHER TESTIMONIES WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST USE
OF THE NAME TRAGEDY.

Besides the passages cited before, to prove that the name of tragedy was no ancients than when the *goat* was made the prize to be contended for by the poets, Eusebius says in his chronicle—“Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. hircus, in præmio dabatur; unde aiunt tragædos nuncupatos.” So Diomedes the grammarian—“Tragœdia a τράγω et ὥδη dicta, quoniam

olim actoribus tragicis, τράγος, i. e. hircus, præmium cantus proponebatur." Etymol. Mag. κέκληται τραγῳδία, ὅτι τράγος τῇ ᾠδῇ ἄθλον ἐτίθετο. Philargyrius on Virg. Geo. ii. 183. "Dabatur hircus, præmii nomine, unde hoc genus poematis tragœdiam volunt dictam." All the other derivations of this word tragedy are to be slighted and exploded. But if this be the true one, as certainly it is, the word cannot possibly be ancients than Thespis's days, who was the first that contended for this prize.

THE EARLY BACCHIC HYMN WAS CALLED DITHYRAMB,
NOT TRAGEDY.

Besides this, we have very good authority, that those Bacchic hymns, from whence the regular tragedy came, were originally called by another name, not *tragedy*, but *dithyramb*. So Aristotle expressly teaches — "Tragedy (says he) had its first rise from those that sung the dithyramb." Διθύραμβος (says Suidas) ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον, i. e. "Dithyramb means the Bacchic hymn."

INVENTOR OF THE DITHYRAMB.

The first author of the dithyramb, as some relate, was Lasus Hermionensis in the first Darius's time; or as others relate, Arion Methymnæus*, in the time of Periander. But, as it appears from Pindar and his Scholiast (Olymp. xiii.), the antiquity of it was so great, that the inventor could not be known: and Archilochus, who was much older than both Lasus and Arion, has the very word dithyramb in these wonderful and truly dithyrambic verses —

ὦς Διωνύσοι ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
Οἶδα Διθύραμβον, οἶνφ συγκεραννωθεὶς φρένας.

Athen. p. 628.

It must be observed that Archilochus here, as well as Suidas, defines a *dithyramb* to be a *Bacchic hymn*. I will show also, anon, that the chorus belonging to the dithyramb was not called a *tragic* but *cyclian* chorus.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN τραγῳδία AND τραγῳδία.

Τραγῳδία does not signify *tragedy*; nor does τραγῳδία ever signify *comedy*. In the passage of Aristophanes's Acharnenses:

... Αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιῇ
Τραγῳδίαν

* Herod. i. 23.

it is true that τραγῳδία is applied to Euripides, but yet is not to be interpreted *tragedy*. For the very jest and wit of this passage consists in this, that the poet calls Euripides's plays *comedies*. And so the Scholiast interprets it — τραγῳδίαν δὲ εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κωμῳδίαν.

STYLE OF EURIPIDES, COMPARED WITH THAT OF ÆSCHYLUS
AND SOPHOCLES.

Euripides was accused by Aristophanes, and several of the ancients, for debasing the majesty and grandeur of tragedy, by introducing low and despicable characters instead of heroic ones; and by making his persons discourse in a mean and popular style, but one degree above common talk in comedy; contrary to the practice of Æschylus and Sophocles, who aspired after the sublime character, and by metaphors and epithets, and compound words, made all their lines strong and lofty. And particularly in Aristophanes's Ranæ, where Æschylus and Euripides are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqued and rallied on this very account. What could Aristophanes then say smarter in this passage about him, than, in derision of his style and character, to call his tragedies *comedies*?

Τραγῳδία DOES NOT SIGNIFY COMEDY. CORRECTION OF A
FRAGMENT OF ARISTOPHANES.

In the following fragment of Aristophanes's ΓΗΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ,

Καὶ τίνας ἂν εἶεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
Ἄπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας:

no doubt the poet meant to say, that Sannyrion was sent ambassador from the *comic* poets, Meletus from the *tragic*, and Cinesias from the *dithyrambic*. This was Aristophanes's thought: and therefore I affirm, that his words could not be ἀπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, as now they are read. So far from that, that if τραγῳδῶν could signify comedians, yet he would not have used the word in this place, where τραγικῶν χορῶν immediately follows. For what a wretched ambiguity would be here, and wholly unworthy of so elegant a poet! since τραγῳδῶν and τραγικῶν χορῶν are words of the same import; and if the former may signify *comedy*, the latter may do so too. So that, if the persons Sannyrion and Meletus had not been well known, the passage might appear a mere tautology; *tragedians* and *tragedians*, or *comedians* and

comedians; or if the signification was varied, the one word meaning comedians, and the other tragedians, yet it had been uncertain whether of the two was the comedian, and whether the tragedian. But by this most certain correction —

..... πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
Ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν

all the ambiguity or tautology vanishes; for τραγωδὸς never signified any thing but a comedian. And how easy and natural was the depravation of τραγωδῶν into τραγιδῶν! Τραγιδὸς being the much rarer word, and, as I believe, not to be met with in prose or serious writings; for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as Κωμωδός.

THE CYCLIAN CHORUS. SIMONIDES.

But there is another error in the above passage, and that is κυκλικῶν instead of κυκλίων: for the verse should be corrected thus:

Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

So Ælian cites it from this very place: Κινησίας κυκλίων χορὸν ποιητής. And Aristophanes speaks so in other places:

Κυκλίων τε χορὸν ἄσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένεας.

And again, speaking of the same Cinesias:

Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον.

And so all manner of writers call them κύκλιοι χοροὶ, and never κυκλικοί: Suidas, Scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes, Hesychius, Plato, Plutarch, and others. This *cyclian* chorus was the same with the *dithyramb*, as some of these authors expressly say; and there were three choruses belonging to Bacchus, the Κωμικός, the Τραγικός, and the Κύκλιος; the last of which had its prize and its judges at the Dionysia, as the other two had.

The famous Simonides won fifty-six of these victories, as Tzetzes informs us from an epitaph upon that poet's tomb:

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἦραο νίκας
Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκες δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.
Κεῖφ δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλησι δ' ἔπαινον
Εὐξυνέτο ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις. Tzetz. Chil. i. 24.

So this epigram is to be corrected; for it is faulty in Tzetzes. Indeed, it is not expressed here what sort of victories they were: so that possibly there might be some of them obtained by his tragedies; if that be true which Suidas tells us, that Simonides

made tragedies. But I rather believe that he won them all by his dithyrambs with the cyclian choruses; and I am confirmed in it by his own epigram, not published before:

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἦραο ταύρους
Καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.
Τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερόεντα (διδασκόμενος) χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,
Εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης. Anthol. Epigr. MS.

A BULL THE PRIZE OF DITHYRAMB. A CALF OF THE Κιθαρωδοί.

I have supplied the third verse with διδασκόμενος, which is wanting in the MS. But it is observable that instead of Νίκας, as it is in Tzetzes, the MS. epigram has ταύρους, which I take to be the author's own word; but being not understood, it was changed into Νίκας. For ταῦρος, a bull, was the prize of *dithyramb*, as a goat was of *tragedy*: which was the reason why Pindar gives to dithyramb the epithet of βοηλάτης:

Ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφθαναν
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες
Διθυράμβῳ . . . Pind. Olymp. xiii.

"He calls the dithyramb βοηλάτης (says the Scholiast) because the bull was the prize to the winner, that animal being sacred to Bacchus." And as the dithyrambic poets contended for a bull, so the harpers, κιθαρωδοί, contended for a calf. Aristophanes, Acharn.

Ἄλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἥνικ' ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ποτὲ
Δεξιθέος εἰσῆλθ' ἄσόμενος Βοιώτιον.

"Some," says the Scholiast, "interpret it ἐπὶ μόσχῳ, for a calf; because he that got the victory with his harp had a calf for his premium." He seems, indeed, to give the preference to the other exposition, that makes Μόσχος the name of a harper, and the modern translators follow him in it: but the former is the true meaning of the passage, as both the language and the sense sufficiently show. I will crave leave to add two more things relating to this matter: first, that this triple chorus, the comic, tragic, and cyclian, may perhaps be meant in that epigram of Dioscorides, which I have produced above—

Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορὸν

Neither shall I contend the point, if any one will embrace this exposition: but, for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to "Trina Liberalia," the three festivals of

Bacchus. And secondly, that these prizes, the bull and the calf, appointed for the dithyramb and playing on the harp (if they really were continued till Simonides's death and Aristophanes's time, and if those passages of theirs related to the present custom, and not the first institution only), may induce some to believe, that the old prizes for tragedy and comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of. However, be this as it will, the arguments used above are not weakened at all by it. For it is plain, from the epochs of Æschylus, &c. in the Arundel Marble (where those prizes are not mentioned), that the epochs of Susarion and Thespis (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that author, as the first rise of comedy and tragedy.

CORRUPT READING IN THE GREEK PROLEGOMENA TO
ARISTOPHANES.

In the Greek Prolegomena to Aristophanes, gathered out of some nameless authors, the words are: "Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην (κωμωδίαν) εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον εἰ τραγωδίαν τινὰ οὔσαν, ὅτι τραγῳγία χρίόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν: i. e. "Comedy may be called tragedy, quasi trygædia, because the actors besmeared their faces with lees of wine." But the very next words in that nameless old author will show that the passage is corrupted. For it immediately follows, Καὶ τῆς μὲν τραγωδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινήσας τοὺς ἀκροατὰς, τῆς δὲ κωμωδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα. So that the whole sentence, as the common reading has it, is thus: *Comedy may be also called tragedy; and it is the design of tragedy to excite compassion in the auditory; that of comedy to excite laughter.* Is not this now a most admirable period, and all one as if he had said, *Comedy may be called tragedy, for they are quite different things?* Without all doubt, if he had really meant, *comedy may be called tragedy*, in those following words he would have said, *τῆς τραγωδίας τῆς κυρίως λεγομένης, it is the design of tragedy properly so called; and not have left them, as they now are, a piece of flat nonsense.* But the emendation is very easy and certain; for with the smallest alteration the whole passage must be read thus: "Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον εἰ τραγωδίαν τινὰ οὔσαν, ὅτι τραγῳγία χρίόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν. And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another writer among the same Prolegomena: Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ (κωμωδίαν) καὶ τραγωδίαν φασὶν . . . ὅτι . . . τραγῳγία διαχρίοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο. The import of both is, that for κωμωδία one may use the word τραγωδία; which is true and right; for the words are synony-

mous, as appear from several places in Aristophanes and the old lexicographers.

CASaubON WRONG IN ASSERTING THAT τραγωδία SIGNIFIED
BOTH TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

The great Isaac Casaubon, in his most excellent book *De Satyrica Poesi*, teaches us — That at first both comedy and tragedy were called τραγωδία or τραγωδία, as appears from Athenæus; where he says, — Both comedy and tragedy were found out in the time of vintage; (τρύγης) ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τραγωδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ κωμωδία. Which (says Casaubon) I thus correct — ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ τραγωδία καὶ ἡ κωμωδία; that is — "From which word τρύγη, vintage, both comedy and tragedy were at first called τραγωδία." This solely depends upon Casaubon's own emendation of Athenæus; which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one. For it is not in the text as he has cited it, ἐκλήθη ΚΑΙ κωμωδία (which would truly show some defect in it), but ἐκλήθη Ἡ κωμωδία, both in his own and other editions. He was deceived, therefore, by trusting to his "adversaria," without consulting the original; for there is no other pretence of altering the text, but from the particle ΚΑΙ.

Κωμωδία PROBABLY THE OLD AND COMMON NAME BOTH
FOR TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, I should rather suspect that κωμωδία was the old and common name both for tragedy and comedy, till they came to be distinguished by their peculiar appellations. For the etymology of the word (κωμωδία, ἐν κώμαις ᾠδή, a song in villages) agrees equally to them both; both tragedy and comedy being first invented and used in the villages, as all writers unanimously say. And it is remarkable that Dioscorides, in his epigrams, calls the plays of Thespis κῶμους:

Θέσπιδος εὖρεμα τοῦτο, τὰ δ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἂν ὕλαν
ΠΑΪΓΝΙΑ, καὶ ΚΩΜΟΤΣ, τοῦσδε τελειοτέρους.

And again, he says, Thespis's plays were an entertainment to the κωμηταί:

Θέσπιδος ὕδ' τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος ᾠοὶδην,
ΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ νεαρῆς καινοτομῶν χάριτας.

Guide.

So that even Thespis's plays might at first, and for a little while, be called *comedies*, which was a word already in use from the time of Susarion. But when men understood the difference between the two sorts, and a distinct prize was appointed to Thespis's, it was natural to give each sort a particular name taken from the several prizes; and the one was called *τραγωδία*, from the goat; the other *πρυγοδία*, from the cask of wine.

SCENES AND OTHER ORNAMENTS INTRODUCED BY
ÆSCHYLUS.

In the infancy of tragedy, there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the stage; no scenes, nor pictures, nor machines, nor rich habits for the actors. For the first scene was made by Agatharchus for one of Æschylus's plays, as Vitruvius tells us: "Primum Agatharchus (a painter) Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de ea commentarium reliquit." * And that all the other ornaments were first brought in by Æschylus, we have the unanimous testimony of all antiquity. Now the first play that Æschylus made was at Olymp. lxx. and the last at Olymp. lxxx. The first victory that Æschylus won at the stage, was at Olymp. lxxiii. 3.; and we may fairly suppose, because he never got the prize till then, that he had not invented scenes and machines, and the other ornaments before.

TRAGEDIES NOT SUMPTUOUS EVEN AT A LATE PERIOD.—
EURIPIDES SATIRISED FOR BRINGING HIS HEROES ON
THE STAGE IN RAGS.

The metaphorical use of *τραγωδία* for *magnificence* and *pomp* could hardly have been so early in use as Olymp. lxxxiv. At that time Æschylus was newly dead, Sophocles was in his prime at fifty-four years of age, and Euripides had just entered upon the province of tragedy. Now the last of these poets was so far from giving occasion to this metaphor by the rich ornaments of his scenes and actors, that he was noted for the quite contrary way, as introducing his heroes in mere rags. So Æschylus accuses him in Aristophanes's *Ranæ*:—

*Ω πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπτάδῃ, †

* Aristotle however (Poët. § x.) attributes the introduction of painted scenery to Sophocles.

† Euripides might have retorted on

Æschylus, as Blomfield observes in his Preface to the *Persæ*, for introducing Xerxes in the same miserable plight.

And the comedian himself, in another of his plays, most pleasantly rallies him upon the same account; and reckons up five of his shabby heroes, that gave names to as many of his tragedies, Ceneus, Phœnix, Philoctetes, Bellerophon, Telephus. It is true, it appears from this very ridiculing of Euripides, that the other tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing beggars on the stage: but, however, even the persons that they introduced were not clad so very gorgeously, as to make tragedy become a metaphor for sumptuousness.

EXPENSE OF TRAGEDY MODERATE IN THE TIME OF
DEMOSTHENES.

For money was at that time a scarce commodity in Greece, especially at Athens, and the people were frugal; so that they had not much to lay out upon ornaments for the stage; nor much inclination, had they had it. Nay, we are sure that for a hundred years after that time the expense and furniture of tragedy was very moderate; for Demosthenes in his action against Midias, which was made Olymp. cvii. 4. has informed us, that the charge of a *tragic chorus* was *much less* than that of the *chorus of musicians*, which usually performed too at the same festivals of Bacchus. *Τραγωδοῖς*, says he, *κεχορήγηκέ ποτε οὗτος*: ἐγὼ δὲ *Αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι*. Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πολλῷ πλείον ἐστίν, οὐδεὶς ἀγροεῖ δῆπον, i. e. "Midias once was the furnisher of a tragic chorus; but I, of a chorus of musicians; and there is nobody but knows that the expense of this is *much greater* than the charge of that." And yet the cost even of a music chorus was no very great matter; as we gather from this, that Demosthenes alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. It is true, he magnifies it as much as he can, and questions whether he should call it generosity or madness in himself, to undertake an expense above his estate and condition: but we ought to receive this as a cast of his rhetoric; for, to be sure, he would never undo himself, by taking an office which nobody forced upon him.

ACTUAL EXPENSE OF A TRAGIC CHORUS DEDUCED FROM
LYSIAS.

But another orator, Lysias, a little ancients than he, has given us a punctual account of the several expenses of the stage. "When Theopompus," says he, "was archon (Olymp. xcii. 2.), I was furnisher to a tragic chorus, and I laid out thirty minæ.

Afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me twenty minæ. When Glaucippus was archon (Olymp. xcii. 3.), I laid out eight minæ upon the Pyrrichists. Again I won the victory with the chorus of men, and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended fifty minæ. And when Diocles was archon (Olymp. xcii. 4.), I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ.* Afterwards, when Alexias was archon (Olymp. xciii. 4.), I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me above fifteen minæ. And when Euclides was archon (Olymp. xciv. 2.), I was at the charge of sixteen minæ upon the comedians, and of seven upon the young Pyrrichists." Now an Attic mina being equivalent to three pounds of English money, it is plain from this passage of Lysias, that the whole charge of a tragic chorus did but then amount to ninety pounds sterling.

Τραγῳδία USED METAPHORICALLY FOR SUMPTUOUSNESS BY LATER WRITERS ONLY.

And now I refer it to the reader, whether, considering this true account of the small charge of a tragic chorus, even in Lysias and Demosthenes's time, he can think it probable, that at the eighty-fourth Olympiad, the tragic ornaments were so famous for their richness, as to give rise to a metaphor of *Τραγῳδία* for sumptuousness. It is true, when tragedy was propagated from Athens into the courts of princes, the splendour of the tragic chorus was extremely magnificent; as at Alexandria and Rome, &c., which gave occasion to that complaint of Horace's—That the show of plays was so very gaudy, that few minded the words of them—

Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, et artes,
Divitiæque peregrinæ: quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scenâ, concurrat dextera lævæ.
Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane; quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. HOR. *Ep.* ii. 1.

And in another place he says, the tragic actor was

Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro. ID. *Art. Poët.*

It is no wonder, therefore, that in those ages *Τραγῳδία* might be used metaphorically to signify riches and splendour; and so Philo and Lucian, and some others use it.

* "The charge of the Cyclian by Meursius. The printer changed chorus Dr. Bentley probably wrote this into III minæ."—*Mus. Crit.* ii. CCC minæ, as it is in Lysias, quoted p. 84.

ORIGIN AND INTRODUCTION OF THE DRAMA.

FROM CUMBERLAND'S OBSERVER.

OF THESPI'S PRETENSIONS TO BE CONSIDERED AS THE FATHER AND FIRST WRITER OF TRAGEDY. (No. 126.)

Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ * canerent agerentque peruncti facibus ora. HORAT.

ARISTOTLE says,—“That Homer alone properly deserves the name of a poet, not only as being superior to all others so called, but as the first who prepared the way for the introduction of the drama; and this he did, not merely by the display of his powers on grave and tragic subjects, but inasmuch as he suggested the first plot and device for comedy also: not founding it upon coarse and opprobrious invective, but upon wholesome and facetious ridicule: so that his *Margites* bears the same analogy to comedy, as his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do to tragedy.”

This assertion in favour of Homer coming from such high authority has been adopted by the scholiasts, critics, and commentators, who have treated either of that great poet or of the drama from the time when it was made to the present: but it should be observed that Aristotle is not here speaking of the drama professedly as a chronologist, but reviewing it as an object of criticism, and under this view it can no otherwise come into contemplation than in its more advanced and perfect state, when built upon the model of Homer's fables and characters; after it had thrown off the barbarous traces of its real origin, and had quitted Bacchus and the Satyrs. Of tragedy, as a written and consistent poem, Homer may well be styled the father; for when Phrynichus and Æschylus introduced on the scene *Μύθους καὶ Πάθη*, the stories and calamities of heroes, tragedy became Homeric, or in other words assumed a dignity of tone and character, that was copied from the epic of Homer, as comedy was from his iambic; and agreeably to this Aristotle names Epicharmus as the first comic poet, who was professedly a copyist of the *Margites*.

* Bentley reads *Qui* for *Quæ*, i.e. vexisse plaustris (*eos*) qui canerent poemata, &c.

Now by settling the dates of a few well-established facts, we shall bring this question into closer view. Pisistratus, after a broken reign of thirty-three years, died in Olymp. lxiii. [B. C. 527], whereas the Marmor Chronicon records, that the first tragedy at Athens was made by Thespis, and acted on a waggon in Olymp. lxi. [B. C. 536.] Suidas confirms this record. From the same authority (viz. Mar. Chron.) we collect that Susarion made the first comedy at Athens, and acted it on a moveable scaffold in the middle of Olymp. liv. [B. C. 562], being one year before Pisistratus established his tyranny. By these dates it appears that comedy was made and acted at Athens, several years before the compilation of Homer's epic poems, and tragedy before or at that time; admitting that Thespis was the first who made tragedies, and that the record above cited was the date of his first tragedy.

I am aware that these facts alone will not prove that the inventors of the drama did not copy from Homer; for it cannot be denied that Thespis and even Susarion might have resorted to his poems before they were compiled by Pisistratus; and as for Thespis, if we were to admit the tragedies which Suidas ascribes to him to be genuine, it is evident from their titles that some of them were built upon Homeric fables; but good critics find strong reasons to object to this list, which Suidas has given us, and I must think it a fair presumption against their authenticity, that Aristotle, who gives Homer the credit of furnishing the first suggestions of the drama, does not instance Thespis's tragedies; for had they been what Suidas reports, it can hardly be supposed that Aristotle would have overlooked an instance so much to his purpose, or failed to have quoted Thespis as the first tragic writer, when he names Epicharmus as the first comic one who copied from Homer.

I am aware that it has been a question with some critics, whether tragedy originated with Thespis, notwithstanding the record of the Marmor Chronicon, and Suidas states the pretensions of Epigenes, the Sicilian, prior to Thespis; but in that he is single and unsupported by any evidence, except what Plato asserts generally in his *Minos*,—"That tragedy was extremely ancient at Athens, and that it is to be dated neither from Thespis, nor from Phrynichus:"—some authorities also place Thespis's first tragedy in a higher period than Olymp. lxi. as it stands in the Marmor; for Laërtius says—"That Solon hindered Thespis from playing his tragedies, believing those feigned representations to be of no use."—And Plutarch tells us:—"That Solon saw one of Thespis's plays, but, disliking the manner of it, forbade him to act any more."—[The ground of Solon's objection was this: "If we applaud falsehood,"

argued he, "in our public exhibitions, we shall soon find that it will insinuate itself into our most sacred engagements." I need not observe that this must have passed before Pisistratus established his tyranny, which did not take place till the last year of Olymp. liv.; but if these facts be admitted, they seem to be decisive as to tragedy being allusive to Bacchus and the Satyrs in its first instance at least; because it can hardly be supposed that so professed an admirer of Homer as Solon was known to be, and himself a poet, would have objected to any drama formed upon his models.

All these seeming difficulties will be reconciled, if we concur with the best opinions in the following particulars, viz. that tragedy, which was concerned about Bacchus and the Satyrs, was in no instance committed to writing; that Thespis's first tragedy, which Solon saw and disliked, was of this unwritten and satiric sort; that in process of time the same author actually wrote tragedy, and first acted it on a waggon in Olymp. lxi., within the era of Pisistratus, and according to the record of the Marmor Chronicon, so often referred to. I will not disguise that Dr. Bentley, whose criticism is so conclusive for the forgery of those tragedies quoted by Plutarch and enumerated by Suidas, Julius Pollux, and Clemens of Alexandria, is of opinion, that "Thespis himself published nothing in writing;" but as there are so many testimonies for his being the father of tragedy in general, and some which expressly say he was the first *writer* of tragedy, I hope I shall not trespass too far on my reader's patience, if I lay the chief of these authorities before him.

The Arundel Marble, which is of date as high as Olymp. cxxix. sets forth, that "Thespis was the first who gave being to Tragedy." The epigram of Dioseorides, printed in Mr. Stanley's edition of Æschylus, gives the invention to Thespis.

Plutarch in his Solon says—"That Thespis gave rise and beginning to the very rudiments of tragedy." Clemens of Alexandria makes Thespis the contriver of tragedy, as Susarion was of comedy. Athenæus says both comedy and tragedy were struck out at Icaria, a place in Attica, where Thespis was born. Suidas records to the same effect, and Donatus speaks expressly to the point of written tragedy. *Thespis autem primus hæc scripta in omnium notitiam protulit.* What Horace says of Thespis in his Art of Poetry, and more particularly in the epistle to Augustus*, where he classes him with Æschylus and Sophocles, certainly implies that he was a *writer* of tragedy, and is

* Epist. ii. 1, 163.:

Et post Punica bella quietus querere cepit,
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent.

so interpreted by Cruquius and the old commentator preserved in his edition. I shall add one circumstance to the above authorities; which is, that the Chorus alone performed the whole drama, till Thespis introduced one actor to their relief: this reform could hardly be made, much less be recorded by Aristotle, unless Thespis had *written* tragedies and published them to the world.

On the whole I incline to consider Thespis as the first author of the *written* tragedy, and to place him in Olymp. lxi. From him tragedy descended through Pratinas, Carcinus, and Phrynichus, to Æschylus, and this is the first age of the tragic drama.

NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE FIRST DRAMA. (No. 127.)

About two centuries had elapsed from the date of Thespis's tragedy to the time when Aristotle wrote his Poetics; which must have been after he quitted the service of Alexander, to whom he sent a copy of that treatise: the chain of dramatists from Thespis to Euripides had been continued in regular succession, and it is not to be supposed, but that he might have given a more particular and methodical account of the first inventors of tragedy, if it had fallen within the scope of his work; but this being merely critical, he takes his account of tragedy and comedy from Æschylus and Epicharmus, contenting himself with a brief detail of such vague and dubious traditions relative to the first inventors, as common fame seems to have thrown in his way.

He loosely observes—"That the people of Megaris claim the invention of comedy: that there is reason to think it took its origin in a popular and free form of government, which that of Megaris then was: that Epicharmus the Sicilian was far senior to Chionides and Magnes, the first Athenian writers of comedy:"—He also throws out an idle suggestion from the etymology of the words *comedy* and *drama*, the former of which he derives from *Κῶμαι*, villages, and the latter from the verb *Δρᾶν*, ὅτι μιμούνται Δρώντες.—Now the people of Peloponnesus, he tells us, use the words *Κῶμαι* and *Δρᾶν* in their dialect, whereas the Athenians express themselves by those of *Δῆμοι* and *Πράττειν*, and upon this rests the Peloponnesians' pretensions to be considered as the inventors of the drama: he then refers to what he considers as the true source and foundation of the drama, the works of Homer; and throwing aside all others, as tales not worth relating, proceeds to the execution of his plan, viz. the definition and elucidation of the tragic poem.

These suggestions were thrown out by Aristotle for no other purpose, as it should seem, but to cast a ridicule upon every other account of the discovery of the drama, but his own; for he might as well have given the invention of comedy to the Megarensians for their being notorious laughers; *Γέλως Μεγαρικὸς*, 'to laugh like a Megarensian,' being a phrase in vulgar use with the Athenians; nay, indeed, he might have gone a step farther, and given them tragedy also; for *Megarensian tears* were as proverbial as *Megarensian laughter*; but a true Athenian would have answered, that the former alluded only to the onions which their country abounded in, and was applied in ridicule of those who counterfeited sorrow; in short, the Megarensians seem to have been the butts and buffoons of the Athenians, and held in sovereign contempt by them. As for the Peloponnesian etymologies, Aristotle must have known that neither the one nor the other had the least foundation; and that there is not a comedy of Aristophanes, in which he does not use the verb *Δρᾶν* frequently, and in the mouths of Athenian speakers; in his *Birds* I find it within a few lines of the verb *Πράττειν*, and used by one and the same speaker; I have no doubt the like is true of *Κῶμαι*, but I did not think the search worth following.

Bacchus and the Satyrs were both the source and subject of the first drama, and the jocund rites of that deity were celebrated at all times and under all governments with the same unrestrained festivity. This celebration was too closely interwoven with popular superstition to be checked by the most jealous of tyrants; the privileged seasons of Bacchus were out of the reach of the magistrate; nor was the old satirical mask of the Athenians in Pisistratus's time less licentious than that of the Megarensians in the freest state; though it soon happened that the republic of Megara became an oligarchy, and the monarchy of Athens was converted into a republic.

The manner in which the drama was struck out may naturally be accounted for. The Greeks from early time were in the habit of chanting songs and extemporary verses in the villages in praise of Bacchus at the *Trina Dionysia*; afterward they performed these songs or dithyrambs at the Panathenæa. The Athenians were of all people living the most addicted to raillery and invective. These village songs and festivities of Bacchus gave a scope to the wildest extravagances of mummery and grimace, mixed with coarse but keen raillery from the labourers and peasants concerned in the vintage. The women from their carts, masked and disguised with lees of wine, and men accoutred in rude grotesque habits like satyrs, and crowned with garlands of ivy and violets, vented such prompt and irregular

sallies, as their inebriated fancies furnished on the instant, or else rehearsed such little traditional and local ballads as were in fashion at the time; accompanying them with extravagant gesticulations and dances incidental to the subject, and suitable to the character of the deity they were celebrating.

In the dithyrambic hymn every outrageous gesture, which enthusiasm inspires, was put in practice. The dithyramb was conceived in a metaphorical inflated style, stuffed with an obscure jargon of sounding phrases, and performed in honour of Bacchus. In these dithyrambic verses and Phallic songs, we have the foundation of tragedy and comedy; the solemn and swelling tones of the first, and the petulant vivacity of the latter, appositely point to the respective character of each. The satire and scurrility they indulged from their vintage waggons, their masks and disguises in the hairy habits of satyrs, their wanton songs and dances at the Phallic ceremonies, and the dark bombast of the dithyramb, chanted by the rhapsodists with every tumid and extravagant action, altogether form a complete outline of the first drama. As soon as dialogue and repartee were added, it became to all intents a mask, and in this state it is discovered in very early times throughout the villages of Greece. When it had reached this period, and got something like the shape of a drama, it attracted the curiosity of the villagers, who, in reward for their amusement in the spectacle, decreed a prize to the performance agreeable to the object in view, and the means of the spectators: this prize consisted of a cask of wine, and the performance, before named simply *Comædia* or the *village song*, was thenceforward called *Tragædia*, or the *song for the cask*, compounded of *τράγη* and *ὀδὴ*.

These names are descriptive of the drama in its progressive stages, from a simple *village-song*, till it took a more complicated form by introducing the Satyrs, and employing the choros in recitation through a whole fable, which had a kind of plot or construction. In this stage, and not before, the prize of the *cask of wine* was given, and thence it proceeded to attract not the husbandmen and labourers only, but the neighbours of better degree. The drama under the designation of *Tragædia* was satiric, and wholly occupied in the praise of Bacchus: it was unwritten, jocose, and confined to the villages at the seasons of the *Trina Dionysia*; but after a prize however inconsiderable had been given, that prize created emulation, and emulation stimulated genius.

The village-bards now attempted to enlarge their walk, and, not confining their spectacles merely to Bacchus and the Satyrs, began to give their drama a serious cast, diverting it from lu-

dicrous and lascivious subjects to grave and doleful stories, in celebration of illustrious characters amongst their departed heroes; which were recited throughout by a chorus, without the interventions of any other characters than those of the Satyrs, with the dances proper thereunto.

This spur to emulation having brought the drama a step forward, that advance produced fresh encouragement, and a new prize was now given, which still was, in conformity to the rustic simplicity of the poem and its audience, a *Goat*, *τράγος*: a new prize created a new name, and the serious drama became distinguished by the name of *Tragædia*, or the *song for the goat*. Thus it appears that *Tragedy*, properly so called, was posterior in its origin to comedy; and it is worthy of remark that *Tragædia* was never applied to the tragic drama, nor *Tragædia* to the comic: after this, comedy lost its general designation of *Tragædia*, and was called by its original name of the *village-song* or *Comædia*.

The next step was a very material one in point of advance; for the village-poets, having been excited by emulation to bring their exhibitions into some shape and consistence, meditated an excursion from the villages into the cities, and particularly into Athens. Accordingly in Olymp. liv. [B.C. 562] *Susarion*, a native of Icaria, presented himself and his comedy at that capital, rehearsing it on a movable stage or scaffold, presuming on the hope, that what had given such delight to the villagers would afford some amusement to the more refined spectators in Athens. This was the first drama there exhibited, and we should naturally expect that a composition to be acted before the citizens of that capital should be committed to writing, if we did not know that the author was on these occasions the actor of his own piece; the rude interludes of Bacchus and the Satyrs being introduced upon the scene according to their old extemporary manner by the *Sileni* and *Tityri*, whose songs and dances were episodical to the drama. It continued to be the custom for authors to act their own plays in the times of Phrynichus and Æschylus, and I therefore think it probable *Susarion's* comedy was not a *written* drama; and I agree with the authorities for Epicharmus being the first *writer* of comedy, who, being retained in an elegant court at Syracuse, choosing his plots from the *Margites*, and rejecting the mummeries of the Satyrs, would naturally compose his drama upon a more regular and elaborate plan.

OF THE TRAGIC POETS PRATINAS AND PHRYNICHUS. (No. 131.)

The advances which the drama had made within the period from the death of Pisistratus to the battle of Marathon [B.C. 490] were considerable; for the tragic poets Pratinas, Charilus, Phrynichus, and Æschylus were in possession of the stage, whilst Epicharmus and Phormis in Sicily, Chionides, Dinolochus, Evetes, Euxenides, Mylus and others in Attica, were writing comedy. Bacchus and his Satyrs were expelled, and a new species of composition, built upon short fables selected from the poems of Homer, succeeded to the village masks, and numbers of ingenious competitors began to apply themselves to the work.

Thespis had been acting tragedies, but Thespis was one of those early dramatists, who come under the description of *Οἱ περὶ Διόνυσον*, writers about Bacchus.

Pratinas succeeded Thespis, and wrote fifty tragedies, if they may be so called, when two-and-thirty of the number were satyric, or allusive to the Satyrs: [of which he was the first writer, according to Suidas.] He was a Peloponnesian of the celebrated city of Philus, but resorted to Athens for the purpose of representing his dramas: he entered the lists with Chærilus and Æschylus about the time of Olymp. lxx., some years antecedent to the battle of Marathon: he bore away the prize from his competitors with one composition only.

Plays were still exhibited upon scaffolds or in booths, where the spectators as well as the performers were placed, till, on the representation of one of Pratinas's tragedies, the scaffolding broke down under the weight of the crowd, and much mischief ensued on the accident. From this time the Athenians set about building a theatre in proper form, and of more solid materials; and the drama, like the edifice, assumed a more dignified character and a better construction.

Pratinas struck out a considerable improvement in the orchestral part of his drama, by revoking the custom of allowing the minstrels to join in the chant or strain with the Chorus, and suffering them only to accompany with their pipes: the recitative was by this alteration given more distinctly to the audience, and the clamorous confusion of voices avoided.

Phrynichus, the tragic poet, was the son of Melanthus and the disciple of Thespis. This Phrynichus first introduced the measure of tetrameters*: this he did because the trochaic foot

* "Tradit Suidas, Phrynichum tetrametri inventorem fuisse; quo quidem reipsa nihil falsius esse potest, quum diu ante Phrynichum istiusmodi versibus usi sint Archilo-

chus et Solon, et quod Aristoteles tradere videtur, omnes ante Æschylum tragici."—*Blom. Pref. ad Pers.* p. xv.

is most proper for dancing, and the drama of this age was accompanied with dances characteristic and explanatory of the fable. When tragedy was in a more improved state, and the business was no longer conducted by dance and spectacle, but committed to dialogue, they changed the tetrameters to iambs, which Aristotle observes were fit for declamation rather than singing with the accompaniment of the dance. This author was the first who produced the female mask on the scene.

Dancing was so essential a part of the first scenic spectacle, and the people were so attached to their old Bacchanalian customs, that the early reformers of the tragic drama found it no easy task to make the dance accord to the subject of the scene, and weave it into the fable. This was generally understood to be done under the direction of the poet, and in many cases he was the principal performer in person; but where an author was not competent to this part of his duty, he called in the assistance of a professed ballet-master, who formed dances on the incidents of the drama, and instructed the Chorus how to perform them. There is a very eminent professor of this art on record, named Telestes, who had the honour of a statue decreed to him, which was conspicuously placed within the theatre, whilst those of the most celebrated poets were not admitted to a nearer approach than the steps or portico. These dances prevailed till after the time of Æschylus, when they were finally laughed out of fashion by the parody of the satirical comedy.

The fate of Phrynichus's tragedy on the *Siege of Miletus* has been frequently mentioned. This beautiful city had been lately sacked by the Persian troops: it was the capital and pride of Ionia, a very ancient colony of the Athenians, settled by Neleus, son of Codrus, the last and most beloved of all their kings: of its riches and renown Strabo tells us the account would exceed belief; it had given birth to men illustrious for science and for military fame; Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes in succession had been natives of Miletus: Hecataeus the historian was born there, as were his contemporaries, Histiaeus and Aristagoras, celebrated men, who took so great a lead in the affairs of the Ionians, introductory to the invasion of the Persians, and to whose conspicuous talents even Darius himself, when exulting at their death, gave the honourable tribute of his applause. Such was the city, on whose deplorable fate Phrynichus founded his tragedy; the spectacle dissolved his audience into tears; the national and affecting scene operated on the sensibility of the Athenians in so serious a manner, that the magistracy thought it a case fit for their interference, and by public edict prohibited the author in future to touch on that melancholy subject: nor was this all; they put a heavy fine on the poet.

OF THE POET ÆSCHYLUS. (No. 132.)

Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
 Æschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
 Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.

HORAT.

We are now to speak of a poet, some of whose inestimable remains are in our hands. Æschylus was born at Eleusis, in Attica, in the last year of Olymp. lxiii. [B.C. 525], the son of Euphorion, an Athenian: he was in the flower of manhood at the battle of Marathon, and served with distinguished reputation; his three brothers, Aminias, Euphorion, and Cynagirus, were in the same action, and signalised themselves on that glorious day. In the sea-fight off Salamis Aminias lost an arm, and bore away the first prize for valour in that well-fought action. It so happened, at the representation of one of Æschylus's plays, that the people rose against him on account of some attack he had made upon their superstitions, and were proceeding to stone him to death, when this Aminias, putting aside his mantle, exhibited his amputated arm, and turned their fury aside from the devoted poet; an anecdote which at once demonstrates their ferocity and their magnanimity.

Æschylus, though he had just reason to value himself highly on his poetical talents, yet, like Alceus and Archilochus, continued through life to hold his military character more at heart than his literary one, and directed to be engraved on his tombstone a distich in long and short verse, in which he appeals to the field of Marathon and the 'long-haired Mede' to witness to his valour: by the Mede, he probably means the general Datis.* The personal gallantry for which Æschylus and his brethren were so conspicuous, gives a strong and manly colouring to his compositions; it is the characteristic of his genius; and his pen, like his sword, is a weapon of terror: the spectacle, which his drama exhibits, is that of one sublime, simple scene of awful magnificence; his sentiment and style are in unison with his subject, and though he is charged with having written his tragedies in a state of inebriety, to which he was in general addicted, still they do not betray the traces of a confused imagination, as Sophocles insinuated, though occasionally they may of an inflated one.

Æschylus not only instructed his chorus in the dances incidental to the piece, but superintended also and arranged the dresses of the performers with the most correct precision; and

* The following is the inscription alluded to, which was inscribed on his tomb by the Geloans:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τότε κεύθει

Μνήμα καταφύμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.
 Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν
 εἴποι,
 Καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μήδης ἐπιστάμενος.

this he did in a taste so dignified and characteristic, that the priests and sacrificing ministers of the temple did not scruple to copy and adopt his fashions in their habiliments; he did not indeed perform on the stage as Phrynichus did, but he never permitted the intervention of a master. The dances which he composed for his tragedy of *The Seven Chiefs*, were particularly apposite to the scene, and were performed with extraordinary success and applause.

That the poet Æschylus was of a candid mind appears from his well-known declaration, viz. "That his tragedies were but scraps from the magnificent repasts of Homer:" that he was of a lofty mind is from nothing more evident, than from his celebrated appeal on a certain occasion, when the prize was voted to his competitor evidently against justice — "I appeal to posterity," says Æschylus, "to posterity I consecrate my works, in the assurance that they will meet with that reward from time which the partiality of my contemporaries refuses to bestow."

The appeal which Æschylus made to posterity was soon verified; for after his death the Athenians held his name in the highest veneration, and made a decree for furnishing the expense of representing his tragedies out of the public purse: he carried away many prizes during his life, and many more were decreed to his tragedies after his death: a statue was erected in memory of him at Athens, and a picture was painted descriptive of his valour in the fight at Marathon [in which he was represented by the side of Miltiades].

Amongst other reasons suggested for his leaving Athens, some assert that he retired in disgust at being superseded in a prize by Sophocles, who was a very young competitor; but a vague assertion of this invidious sort is readily confuted by the character of Æschylus, to which it is not reconcileable, on any other than the strongest authority.* It is agreed that he removed to Sicily, to the court of king Hiero [Ol. lxxx. 2.], where he was very honourably received, and after three years' residence died, and was buried in a sumptuous and public manner: the fable of the eagle dropping a tortoise on his head, and his being killed by the blow, was probably allegorical, and emblematical of his genius, age, and decay. He died at the age of sixty-nine years, in the first year of Olymp. lxxxi. [B.C. 456.] In Olymp. lxx. [B.C. 499] at the age of twenty-five, he contested the prize with Pratinas and Chærilus, when Myrus was archon. Chærilus was an Athenian, and wrote tragedies to the amount of 150, of all which not even a fragment survives. At the battle of Marathon [B.C. 490] Æschylus was thirty-seven years

* See the Preface to Blomfield's ed. of the Persæ, and Anthon's ed. of Lempriere's Class. Dictionary.

old: twelve years after this celebrated action Xerxes passed into Greece, at the head of his army, burnt Athens, and carried off the library collected by Pisistratus and his sons. When Æschylus was turned of fifty, he carried away the prizes with a tetralogy, consisting of the *Phineus*, *Persæ*, *Glaucus Potniensis*, and the *Prometheus Igñifer*, a satyric drama. Two years before his death, Olymp. lxxx. 2. B. C. 458, he won the prize with the Orestean tetralogy, consisting of the *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphori*, the *Eumenides*, and the *Proteus*, a satyric drama; the charges of the theatre being defrayed by Xenocles, of Aphidna. If he passed into Sicily, therefore, he must have left Athens immediately after this success; and this is another circumstance which makes against the story of his disgust: [for he was conquered by Sophocles in Olymp. lxxvii. 3.]

At the death of Æschylus, Sophocles was in his twenty-seventh year, and Euripides in his twenty-first: Chionides and Dinolochus, writers of the old comedy, flourished in his time; as did the philosophers Zeno Eleates, Anaxagoras, and Parmenides: Socrates was in his twenty-second year when Æschylus died, and Pindar died two years before him.

OF ÆSCHYLUS COMPARED WITH SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES.
(No. 133.)

In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, three entire acts are occupied by a contest between Æschylus and Euripides for the tragic chair amongst the departed spirits. The matter is put to reference before Bacchus and others, who proceed to a solemn hearing of the parties. The author evidently leans to Æschylus throughout the controversy, and in the end makes Bacchus give a full decision in his favour: the irascible proud spirit of Æschylus, and the litigious talkative character of Euripides are well marked, and in a peculiar vein of comic humour: the contending poets alternately repeat passages in their respective prologues and choruses, which the other party as constantly criticises and turns to ridicule.

The decree which Aristophanes makes Bacchus pronounce in favour of Æschylus, is by implication as decisive against Sophocles as against Euripides, for Sophocles declares his acquiescence under the judgment, if it should be given for Æschylus, but if otherwise, he avows himself ready to contest the palm with Euripides: a circumstance which sufficiently discriminates the modest complacency of his character, from the peevish disputatious temper of Euripides: it is at the same time an implied confirmation of the pre-eminence of these three tragic poets over

all the other competitors in that department of the drama, and puts Æschylus at the head of the triumvirate.

It appears, therefore, that although we have few remains of the Greek Tragedy, yet they are remains of the best masters. There are authorities which say that Æschylus wrote above one hundred tragedies, and the titles of all these have been collected and published by Meursius; seven only survive*; the like number of Sophocles†, and a few more of Euripides‡, comprise all the remains of the Greek tragedy now in our possession: but although these are highly valuable as being specimens of the best masters, it does not follow that they are the best, or amongst the best performances of their respective authors: at all events we can judge but in part from so small a proportion; and as these authors were in the habit of forming their dramas upon plots that were a continuation of the same story, it must be to the disadvantage of any one piece, that happens to come down to us disjunctively, as in the instance of the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, and more which might be named amongst the remains of the two other surviving poets.

The style of Æschylus bespeaks a fiery and inflated imagination; the time in which he wrote, and his own martial habits, doubtless gave a colour and character to his diction; perhaps the intemperance in which he indulged may sometimes give a heat to his fancy more than natural§; and there are some passages of so figurative and metaphorical a sort, that I have been often tempted to suppose that his campaigns against the Persians might have tinctured his language with something of the Oriental tone of expression. The tragedies of Æschylus have all the marks of an original genius; his scene is cast with an awful and majestic grandeur, and he designs in the boldest style. No poet introduces his character on the scene with more dignity and stage effect: he is in the practice of holding the spectator in suspense by a preparatory silence in his chief person, which is amongst

* These are the *Supplices*, *Persæ*, *Prometheus Vincetus*, *Septem contra Thebas*, *Agamemnon*, *Choëphori*, *Eumenides*: such is the chronological order, according to Blomfield in the Preface to the *Persæ*, p. xv.

† viz. the *Ajax*, *Electra*, (*Edipus Tyrannus*, *Antigone*, *Trachiniæ*, *Philoctetes*, *Edipus Coloneus*.)

‡ viz. 18, and one satyric drama, entitled the *Cyclops*.

§ "Pausanias (i. 14.) records a story of Æschylus's boyhood, professedly on the authority of the poet himself, that having fallen asleep while watching

the clusters of grapes in a vineyard, Bacchus appeared to him, and bade him turn his attention to Tragic composition. This account, if true, shows that his mind was, at a very early period, enthusiastically struck with the exhibitions of the infant drama. To this same origin must, no doubt, be traced the common account relative to Æschylus, that he wrote under the influence of wine. The inspiration of Bacchus, in such a case, can mean nothing more than the true inspiration of poetry."—*Life of Æschylus*, in *Anthon's ed. of Lempriere*.

the most refined arts of the dramatic poet. I believe there is no ancient poet that bears so close a resemblance in point of genius to any of the moderns, as Æschylus bears to Shakspeare.

Sophocles, in times more pacific, has a softer versification, and a style more sweet and feeble: of habits and education more effeminate, of a fair and comely person, we hear of him dancing naked round a trophy erected for the victory of Salamis, his lyre in his hand, and his limbs anointed with oil to increase their activity. He studied music and the dance under Lampsus, and in both arts was an adept; he danced at the performance of his own *Nausicaa*, and he accompanied the choruses of his *Thamyris* with his voice and harp. Devoted to the fair sex in the extreme, the softness of his natural character is conspicuous in his writings: his pictures of women are flatteringly drawn, and his style is compared to the honey of the bee for sweetness. The sensibility of his mind was extreme: though he lived near a hundred years, old age did not deaden his feelings, for whilst judgment was passing on his *Œdipus Coloneus*, the last play he exhibited, his spirit was so agitated by the anxious suspense, that when the prize was at length decreed in his favour, the tumult of passion was too great for his exhausted frame, and the aged poet expired with joy. [Other accounts state that the excess of joy which occasioned his death arose from his obtaining a poetical prize at the Olympic games; others that he was choked by a grape-stone.*]

Euripides, on the other hand, was of mean birth, the son of a poor woman who sold herbs, at which circumstance Æschylus points, when he says, in the *Frogs*, "*O thou from rural goddess sprung!*" He was educated by his father to engage as an athletic in the Eleusinian and Thesean games: he was also a student in natural philosophy under Anaxagoras, in rhetoric under Prodicus, and a pupil of Socrates in moral philosophy. When he began to study tragedy, he shut himself up in a cave, wild and horrid, and sequestered from the world, in the island of Salamis: he is charged with having a professed antipathy to women, and every feature both of nature and education, as now described, is discoverable in his writings: his sentiments breathe the air of the schools, his images are frequently vulgar, and his female characters of an unfavourable cast: he is carping, sour, and disputatious; and though he carried away only five prizes out of seventy-five plays, he is still indignant, proud, and self-assuming: his life was full of contention and his death of horror, for he was set upon by mastiffs, and killed.†

* For further particulars of the life of Sophocles, see Anthon's ed. of Lempriere. † On the Life of Euripides, see Anthon's Lempriere.

OF EPICHARMUS AS THE FIRST WRITER OF COMEDY.
(No. 135.)

I have spoken of tragedy as a *written poem* before comedy of the same description, because I think that Susarion did not *write* comedy, though he acted it so early as the fiftieth Olympiad; and I also think that Thespis did *write* tragedy in the sixty-first Olympiad, if not sooner; in other words, although the complexion of the original drama was comic in the most extravagant degree, yet it appears probable that tragedy had the start in point of publication. The nature of the first comedy, compared with that of the first tragedy, seems to warrant this opinion; for it is easy to suppose that the raillery and satire of the village masks, which would pass off at a lawless festival, spoken off-hand and without the malice of premeditation, would not so readily have been committed to writing by the poet, as the tragic drama; which, being composed in honour of deceased heroes, or on religious and grave subjects, not only called for greater deliberation on the part of the author, but would also be made public without danger of offence.

I have already observed that Aristotle ascribes the first written comedy to Epicharmus. Both Aristotle and Horace call him a Sicilian*, but in what particular place he was born is not agreed; some contend that he was a Syracusan, some that he was a native of Crastum, others of Megara in Sicily. The father of Epicharmus was named Chimarus, or, according to others, Tityrus, and his mother Sicida. Cicero, in his *Tusculans*, calls him *acutum nec insulsum hominem*; Demetrius Phalæreus celebrates him for the elegant and apposite choice of his epithets, on which account the Greeks gave the name of Epicharmion to his style, making it proverbial for its beauty and purity. It is difficult to fix the precise time when he began to write comedy, especially as he lived to the great age of ninety-seven: it is certain, however, he was still writing in the reign of Hiero, in or about Olymp. lxxiv., at which time Phormis also wrote comedy in Sicily; and Chionides, Dinolochus, and Magnes, comic poets, flourished at Athens.

Amongst the epigrams of Theocritus, published by H. Stephens in 1579, there are some lines upon Epicharmus, which appear to have been inscribed upon the pedestal of a statue of brass, which the Syracusans had set up in his honour as their fellow-citizen: it consists of ten lines in the Doric dialect, which he

* Epist. ii. l. 58. Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi.